

child study

A quarterly journal of parent education

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By-lines

RENÉ A. SPITZ M.D. has had years of experience with babies on which to base his article, *3 First Steps in Growing Up*. Dr. Spitz, who is a member of the Advisory Board of the Child Study Association, is on the faculty of the New York Psychoanalytic Institute and is doing research on infants.

DOROTHY MACNAUGHTON, M.D., who wrote *The Inner World of the Preschool Child*, is a staff psychiatrist at the James Jackson Putnam Children's Center, and a supervisor of therapy at the Judge Baker Guidance Center for Children and Youth, in Boston.

GRACE MCLEAN ABBATE, M.D., author of *The "Middle-aged" Child Steps Out*, is consultant in psychiatry to the Child Study Association, the Jewish Board of Guardians, and the Educational Institute for Learning Difficulties. She is in private practice as a child analyst.

Adolescence Is Hard on Everyone, by SOL WIENER GINSBURG, M.D., is evidence of the author's knowledge of young people. Dr. Ginsburg is the associate attending psychiatrist at Vanderbilt Clinic, in New York. In addition to clinical work, his work has been concerned largely in areas of social psychiatry. He has recently completed a study on the factors that determine occupational choice, and is co-author of a book on *The Unemployed*.

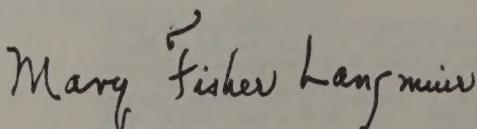
GEORGE E. GARDNER, Ph.D., M.D., author of *Can Parents Grow Along with Their Teen-Agers?* is editor of the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, lecturer in the department of social relations at Harvard University, consultant in psychiatry to the Children's Hospital in Boston, and director of the Judge Baker Guidance Center.

Greetings!

In this month of December which many of us set aside for the special remembrance of others, I take pleasure in having this opportunity to greet our members, contributors, and subscribers, as well as our authors and staff who make this publication possible. I am happy to extend to each and every one my good wishes for this holiday season and the coming year.

December is also a month for stock-taking, and it is with real satisfaction that I share with you a brief review of the Child Study Association of America for the past year. The Association has offered its regular services—family counseling, discussion groups for parents, school and camp information, CHILD STUDY magazine and other publications—together with consultative advice to many individuals and organizations who work with children. Among other special projects, the Association has prepared two new pamphlets: one is called *Aggressiveness in Children*, the other *Getting Along with Brothers and Sisters* (for teen-agers); also a new book—*Children's Stories*—prepared by the Children's Book Committee. For Association members and their guests it offers a series of popular lectures by well-known psychiatrists and educators.

And December is assuredly a month for giving. In addition to the treasures and toys of childhood which are part of the holiday season, we adults want most to give the enduring gift of happy family life. As you know, the Child Study Association is dedicated to the widest possible dissemination of knowledge and insights that will help us give this greatest gift to children. The funds for our program must come from the people who have the knowledge and wisdom to contribute to educational organizations such as ours. It is with a feeling of security that I look to all of you—you who know the worth of our work—for generous help. A seasonable contribution to the Child Study Association now will be a gift to families and children everywhere.



PRESIDENT, CHILD STUDY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

By René A. Spitz, M.D.

3 first steps in growing up

Frustration has substantial value in the growth
and development of a baby—but
he must feel secure in his mother's love

A house is sound only when it is built on an adequate foundation. If the foundation is unstable and crooked, the house will be unstable and crooked too. Comparatively small imperfections in the foundation often show up in an exaggerated manner in the finished structure.

So it is with growing up. The foundations for the development of the mature adult are laid during the first two years of life. During this period there are three great steps toward maturity.

The first step: The first six months are characterized by the infant's complete helplessness.

The second step: During the second half of the first year the child is increasingly independent in expressing and achieving his desires. He literally steps forth into the world.

The third step: The child learns to speak.

What is maturity?

But first, what do we mean by maturity? Maturity is a term that has been used a great deal in the past few years. But it has been given a number of meanings that are not accurate.

To me maturity means the full realization of the potentialities of the individual's equipment, both physical and psychological, within the limits of the given cultural, ethnic, geographical, national, and social environment. The title of this issue of CHILD STUDY, "Steps to Maturity," indicates that maturity is progressively developed. My own field of research covers the period of infancy—the first two years in

a child's life. Obviously, many aspects of maturity as I have defined it do not apply to the first two years. And not all of the many different factors that go to make up what we call maturity have equal importance for the infant.

The most obvious aspect is physical maturity. There is, of course, a striking difference between a study of the subject in the adult, whose physical maturity is taken for granted, and a similar study in the infant, whose physical maturity is in process of change and must be considered always in relation to a particular age. The relationship between age and physical maturity is much more sharply accentuated in infancy than later, for at no time in life is the pace of development as rapid and, one might even say, as stormy as in the first two years.

For this reason I like to speak about age-adequate maturity. There is nothing mysterious in this term. Like so much of our psychological terminology it corresponds to what common sense takes for granted. Nobody expects a baby to walk at three months. That would not be age-adequate; walking is age-adequate around the end of the first year. Development in the first year is so rapid that steps of what is age-adequate can be differentiated from month to month.

Of course the steps to maturity involve more than physical adequacy. Physical development alone is not enough to enable a child to walk. Learning to walk requires also an age-adequate psychological development that involves among

other things the wish to walk. Age-adequate maturity, therefore, must include not only the physical but also all the other aspects. Not only is physical maturity interrelated with all other aspects of maturation, but it might be said that age-adequate physical maturity necessarily influences the other aspects of maturity though in varying degrees.

The second aspect of maturation to be considered is the psychological one. From the point of view of academic psychology there are a number of psychological functions that are not inborn and that have to develop. For example, everyone knows that a child must reach a certain age before he can recognize his mother; that he is a few months older before he can distinguish friends from strangers; that it is another few months before he learns to understand the simplest problems of moving around, climbing on a chair, or doing other things he wants to do. All these achievements are part of psychological maturation, yet it is obvious what an important role physical development often plays in making them possible.

When we speak of the child doing what he wants to do, whether it be pilfering the cooky jar or escaping the confinement of a crib, we have introduced the idea of motivation. Emotions are unquestionably the strongest motivating forces in life. Emotions, however, are not ready-made from birth but undergo a process of development. My particular findings seem

to show that, important as the other forms of growing up may be, it is emotional maturation that leads the way for all the rest of development, perhaps even for physical development.

Another aspect of growing up is the achievement of social maturity. This is a side of human adjustment of which a relatively inconspicuous but fateful part falls into the period I am discussing.

Sexual maturity too is, of course, a most important factor in growing up. But in infancy the preliminary steps toward its achievement, though present, are not easy to interpret.

Finally there is economic maturity, of which nothing applies to the period with which we are concerned here.

First step: complete dependence

The application of the idea of age-adequate development makes it possible to distinguish certain definite periods in the first two years of life which follow each other with the same unchangeable regularity as the period of the permanent teeth follows that of the milk teeth. In each of these periods the baby makes use of a given physical, mental, and emotional equipment that enables him to do what is required at that particular age.

Obviously this equipment is much more primitive, say, in the first six months than toward the end of the second year. It would be futile to expect the three-month-old to do the things the

What do you think of our magazine's new dress?

In the Fall issue of CHILD STUDY I told you that we were planning a new format for the magazine. This is it!

A great deal of thoughtful work has gone into the design. The Board of Directors and the editors wish to express their appreciation publicly to all who made it possible. Morris Bonoff and his associates on *Baby Talk*, Ruth Newburn Sedam, Deirdre Carr, and Albert Z. Botwick, gave most helpful suggestions. Geffen, Dunn and Company designed the cover. Elizabeth Bradley, recently appointed, under special funds from the Grant Founda-

tion, to the Publications and Promotions Department of the Association, gave most generously of herself and her creative talents. And David W. DeArmand gave unstintingly of both time and typographical skill in the planning of the format and in taking care of the many and intricate details that are necessary in restyling a publication. Our heartiest thanks go to them all.

We at the Child Study Association think the magazine is now more attractive, as well as easier to read and use. We sincerely hope you think so, too. MILDRED B. BECK, DIRECTOR

year-old or the two-year-old does. Nevertheless, I have seen mothers trying to teach their three-month-old babies to sit up, to stand, to walk; and these mothers were extremely proud when at six months the babies, clinging precariously to the railings, were standing in their cribs. It was not possible to make these mothers understand that they were jeopardizing the children's normal development in other respects and were not really increasing their capacity to walk, which everybody learns to do sooner or later anyhow.

But how can we reproach these overambitious mothers, whose emotional disturbance is obvious, when we remember that during the 1930's authorities were recommending toilet training in the first and second months of life? And this at a time when a thorough investigation made by Myrtle McGraw at Columbia University had shown the futility of trying to hurry the process of maturation!

During the past twenty years, extensive studies have been made of the steps of development and of the capacity of the child at each of these steps to deal with the objects and stimuli offered by his environment. A number of excellent books (among them, Arnold Gesell's *The First Five Years of Life*, Margaret Ribble's *The Rights of Infants*, Benjamin Spock's *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care*) illustrate each step in this process. They make it abundantly clear that when we speak of age-adequate maturity we must also consider age-adequate objects and stimuli in the child's life.

A child's world consists of objects and of people; the child has a certain emotional relation to each of these. It is with the help of his emotional relations to people that the infant learns also to deal with things. Long before a baby is able to select or even recognize a favorite toy he will select and recognize people, beginning with his mother.

Comprehending this state of things leads to understanding the child's need for companionship and toys that meet the requirements and capacities of his age. It also calls attention to the danger of depriving him of his mother. That was frequently the procedure in the orphanages of old. Present-day child care seeks to avoid such deprivation without providing adequate

substitutions. We have recognized that depriving an infant of his mother during the first fifteen months without offering him an adequate substitute is depriving him of all chances of further maturation.

What, then, is the mother's role in the child's maturation? Because of the constantly changing picture of what is age-adequate both in development and in stimulus, it is obvious that the task of the mother is an everchanging one. In giving information to mothers, one of the great problems is the impossibility of providing a simple set of rules which applies to "the child." There is no such thing as "the child" in the abstract. Not only do children have individual differences, but each child is different from month to month. Advice offered to a mother in January may no longer be valid by June.

It won't do, either, to look at the way animals bring up their young, to assure a mother that she should simply follow her instincts and everything will be all right. That advice is good as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. A full-grown animal does not have to cope with the intricacies of living in the complicated human society. Following one's instincts may be good practice as long as the infant is in what might be called the animal stage, the first six months. Complete permissiveness and unrestricted loving care are perfectly adequate during this first period.

During the first six months the capacity of the child to perceive is very limited. And his capacity to remember what he has perceived is even more so. He needs extensive protection. It is necessary for his mother not only to guess his every wish and to do everything for him but also to provide all the stimuli for development. The infant's need for his mother is proportionate in every respect to his own helplessness.

Second step: discipline begins

All this changes in the second half of the first year. The child rapidly becomes capable of perceptions, of remembering what he has perceived, of getting what he wants and, toward the end of the first twelve months, of achieving the locomotion necessary to carry him toward his goals and away from what he wishes to avoid.

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By Dorothy Macnaughton, M.D.

The inner world of the preschool child

Between three and six the child acquires
new interests, learns to cope
with new emotions as well as to develop new skills

What are children like between the years of three and six? What advances toward maturity are made at this time, and how are they revealed? What lies beneath the aggressive play and the tearful shyness, the nightmares and the nail-biting, the interest in sex differences that often occur at this age?

Accurate clinical observation of children has disclosed a pattern of psychological development from infancy through the school years. Each phase as it develops brings its special focus intimately related to the establishment of body functions. The first is dominated by the infant's need to suck, and later to bite. Eventually this gives way to the second phase, which is dominated by the baby's need to control by elimination. In the third phase, the one that concerns us here, the genitals assume primary significance.

Each stage of development brings with it a fresh onslaught of primitive impulses that throw the child into conflict. How he handles these conflicts is bound to be influenced by his relative success or failure at previous stages.

Generally speaking, however, by the time the average child reaches the age of three he has already had considerable experience in satisfying some of his wishes. He has also learned to accept substitutes for others in order to con-

form with the demands of his parents, who represent reality to him.

These phases of psychological growth do not follow each other in a clear-cut, mathematical fashion. One stage does not suddenly end when another begins. Rather they tend to overlap and intermingle, so that when a child reaches three he is still struggling with the conflicting feelings brought about by the previous phases. Let us, therefore, review for a moment what he has accomplished in the earlier years in order to understand what he is like at three before he enters what we call the phallic phase of development.

If during the first phase, when the young child's feelings of love and anger are related to his sucking needs, the baby's relationship to his mother has been satisfying, if there have been no damaging separations, and if weaning has gone smoothly, he will have learned to limit his demands. He no longer insists that his wishes be satisfied at once. He can accept the necessary frustration that his mother's very separateness of being brings. This is only possible when he has learned by repeated experience that when he cries a loving mother will come and attend to his needs, and that some delay does not mean abandonment. When he is angry an infant feels it in terms of biting and

wishing to chew up the person who frustrates him. As his bodily and perceptual skills increase, his aggressive oral impulses are expressed in scratching, pinching, snatching, hair-pulling, and so on—behavior common in the one-and-a-half- to two-and-a-half-year-old, and occasionally shown by the three-year-old.

If, too, his toilet training during his second year has gone smoothly, and his mother has given him plenty of time to enjoy his baby privileges, he will have been able to give up certain pleasurable bowel and bladder experiences because his mother wished it. And so at three he has achieved bowel and bladder control, barring, perhaps, temporary reverses. His anger at having had to renounce these primitive pleasures is now directed away from the body areas concerned. Instead he finds enjoyment in noisy banging, hitting, throwing things, and in all kinds of messy play.

What we have described are the child's first steps in controlling his primitive aggression and defending himself against anxiety through some other activity. By the time he is three, his speech and his bodily and perceptual skills have developed more fully. He is, therefore, able to put his anger into words. He can turn his anger and distress into more meaningful play with objects, instead of expressing them in the earlier, direct fashion of the two- to two-and-a-half-year-old.

By the age of three, too, the child begins to understand his environment and the people who compose it. He is developing a finer discrimination in his affections. He is acquiring a sense of justice; he can "take turns" with other children under the supervision of a grownup. In other words, he is becoming more of a person in his own right. Gone are the two-year-old's negativistic "no's" and the indiscriminate grabbing of things. At three, the child is no longer so entirely dependent on, and clinging to protecting adults, primarily his mother. His horizon is widening to include other children. He is capable of enjoying a certain amount of group play, although this is still occasional and takes the form of a parallel activity rather than a cooperative one. He likes to play, not so much with, as alongside other children. Since he is freer from his mother, he can

permit himself fantasy play with a vividness that often surprises and enchants us.

Mixed feelings

Each step toward maturity brings its own conflicts. On the one hand, the child wants to carry out primitive impulses; and on the other, he needs to keep the love of his parents. These conflicting wishes result in conflicting feelings, and he finds he has both hostility and love for the same person. We use the word *ambivalence* to describe these contradictory feelings.

At three, the child's ambivalence stems from the frustrations he has experienced in his nursing and toilet-training periods. That he still has anxiety about his hostility is revealed by the nightmares and fears so common at this age. He dreams of being abandoned; of being eaten up by fierce animals, witches, giants, and ogres. These terrifying figures thinly disguise his fear of retaliation by an angry parent for his "bad" wishes. Through becoming aware of his own mixed feelings, he learns by experience that his parents can also have the same kind of feelings. He comes to realize that, although they sometimes get angry with him and with each other, they love him and each other too. Although he is still very much afraid of the negative side of his feelings, he is also well aware of the positive side and can give love as well as receive it.

In the years before three, when the child is almost entirely dependent on his mother for bodily care, she is the most important figure to him. Although the father can be loved and admired for his friendliness and strength, he generally plays a secondary role in the child's affections. When a child reaches his third or fourth year these early dependent feelings for his parents begin to take on a different quality. The little boy, though still wanting to be taken care of by his mother, becomes actively possessive of her in a new way and resents her relationship with his father. He wants to play both baby and grown man. In the same way, the little girl turns to her father and resents her mother's claim on his attention. Her wish is a double one, too; at the time she wants to play the mother's role and have the baby, she

also wants to be the baby herself. An illustration of this comes from the nursery school where a little girl tucked her doll in the play bed, and a moment later flung it out and got in herself with the demand, "Me too."

The beginnings of sex interests

At this time both little boys and little girls are markedly exhibitionistic. They also become more physically affectionate with the parent of the opposite sex. The little boy will talk openly about his wish to have his mother all to himself and exclude his father. "When I'm grown up, Mummy, I'm going to be a sailor, and come back and marry you." "What will your Daddy do then?" "Oh, he'll be gone." The little girl can be equally frank about wanting to take her mother's place with her father and make her rival disappear.

The wish of the little child to have the loved parent all to himself and to make the other parent disappear is normal. It is part of the growth process itself and springs from the intensity and absoluteness of the child's feelings. These feelings are not sexual in the adult sense, but rather a prelude to later adult sexuality.

This new situation—the Oedipus—brings the child into further conflict. For not only are these wishes doomed to partial frustration, but sooner or later they bring the child into a rivalry situation—the boy competes with his father, and the girl with her mother.

Very often this rivalry makes the little girl afraid of her otherwise loved mother. She betrays her mixed feelings by alternating periods of defiance and penitence; after some open act of rebellion she will suddenly burst into tears, "Oh, Mummy, I do love you, I do, I do." Although the boy loves his father, he feels hostility toward him; and he fears that in return the father will become angry and try to destroy his masculinity. This castration fear may be reinforced by observation of the little girl's genitals. Finding out that after all there *are* people in the world who do not have a penis, the boy imagines that hers has been cut off; and he now fears that this may happen to him. This is often the starting point of the little boy's later fear of being a sissy.

The conflicts during the Oedipal struggle

give rise to anxieties that are reflected in the child's dreams and in his play. Fears and nightmares are again frequent. The little boy's dreams give evidence of the source of his anxiety. Around this time they are mainly concerned with bodily harm inflicted on him by terrifying figures—animal and human—who represent the parent most dangerous to him, the father. These anxious feelings are often displaced from the genital itself, and the little boy may show a preoccupation with broken or lost things or intense anxiety about minor injuries like cuts or even about getting his hair cut or going to the toilet. Dreams of being attacked and anxieties about broken and lost objects or minor injuries may also appear in the little girl. In her fantasy she quite frequently blames her mother for her lack of a penis. This is particularly so if in this period she feels she has been replaced in the mother's affections by the arrival of a tenderly loved baby brother. At this time the little girl's wish to be a boy comes from her feeling that her mother would love her more if she were. She interprets the lack of the male organ, which to her means loss of love, as a punishment for her aggressive wishes.

The conflict caused by the child's desire for gratification of primitive Oedipal wishes and his need to retain his parents' love is only gradually resolved by the slow process of identification. The child takes within himself the moral attitudes of his parents, making them an essential part of his being. The boy strives to be like his father in order to avoid conflict with him and keep his love, and the girl to be like her mother for the same reason. The parents' outer demands are now continued within the child himself, and the "still, small voice" of conscience is born.

During the years from three to six, the child's sexual curiosity becomes aroused. Although he has asked earlier, he wishes to know all over again where he came from. He relates this information to his parents' relationship, the sexual significance of which he already vaguely senses. He becomes interested in his own body and in the bodies of other children. He wonders with a new awareness about anatomical

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By Grace McLean Abbate, M.D.

The "middle-aged" child steps out

He's curious about the world, ready
to learn, concerned about
having friends, and developing a conscience

When a child enters his sixth year he is at the beginning of a new era in his development. So far as character formation is concerned, this is one of the most productive periods of his life; and it extends to approximately ten years of age, when the pre-puberty stage of development begins. During this period, which children sometimes call their "middle-age," the normally developing child is freed from most of the pressures of the sexual and aggressive drives which have dominated the first five years of his life. To a large extent, these instinctual drives have been repressed. The child is now ready, intellectually and socially, to make great strides forward.

Character and personality traits laid down in the earlier period are now consolidated, enriched, elaborated, and modified. Physically, the change in the child is often striking—the babyish little-boy or little-girl look disappears; and a new poise, self-assurance, and maturity become apparent. This is the childhood period of equilibrium; for the emotionally healthy child, the struggles of the previous years are temporarily in abeyance.

Of course, there are no rigid and arbitrary time limits to any phase of a child's growth. Age demarcations show some variation; differences of six to twelve months are not uncommon in the development of the average youngster.

Usually, however, between the years of six and ten the child's conscious personality is

greatly enriched. His knowledge and understanding of the world, of his place in it, and his awareness of the results of various kinds of activity and behavior become clearer and more apparent to him. It is now that the demands of reality become significant, and the child tries to adjust to them. He no longer has to react immediately to every stimulus from his environment. He can evaluate situations and make appropriate responses. Because he has a greater appreciation of a goal that can be gained or enhanced by postponement, he is better able to tolerate a postponement of pleasure. He doesn't have to satisfy all his wishes immediately. He can enjoy looking forward to a promised treat. He can save some of his allowance for a toy he especially wants.

This aspect of the child's personality has developed and been strengthened by his mastery of his sexual and aggressive drives and by the steady enrichment of his intellectual powers. As the social sense that is beginning to emerge continues to grow, the child finds new ways of dealing with his instinctual urges. The younger child's acts of cruelty or destruction are replaced by more acceptable and socialized behavior. The same drive that caused the four-year-old to destroy a toy or pull the wings off an insect, for instance, now leads him to take apart a mechanical toy to find out how it works, and to attempt to put it together again. Earlier direct sexual curiosity and interest are now changed into a drive to learn to read, or into

a curiosity about some aspect of science or history. Thus the energy of the drives originally concerned with aggressiveness and sexuality has been transformed into desirable qualities: interest in learning, curiosity, adventurous spirit.

The beginnings of conscience

The social world is now becoming a powerful factor. The child wants very much to be like his parents. He wants his parents' approval, and is quite ready to respond to them. But it is also significant that his behavior must be acceptable not only to the adults around him but to himself as well. For he is developing a feeling of what is right and what is wrong. He now has a conscience—a new psychic structure that starts to form at the beginning of this period. By this time, in the normal development of a child, he has begun to be able to do what is expected of him, even when his parents are not present to enforce their demands. In this early stage, he may still do what is expected of him only in situations where he knows he will get into trouble if he does not do it. As he grows older, the emotionally healthy child is able to exercise control over his activities and desires under the threat of pangs of conscience or guilt feelings. Because of this threat he can do what is "right," even without the sustaining presence of the adults, primarily the parents, responsible for prohibitions, demands, or expectations.

During this period, the child's relationship with his parents changes considerably. He begins to see his parents in a more reasonable light and begins to correct his early overestimation of them. Often this makes life more comfortable for the parents, for the relationship is now easier and makes less demands on them. To some extent their influence is changing from a direct to an indirect one, though they are still the most important people in the child's world. They are beginning to form part of the child's conscience. He relies upon them in his handling of the world about him and in responding to it. He adopts their feelings, attitudes, ideals, standards, opinions, and he tends to take over their methods of dealing with situations. The very strength of this identification—this being like his parents—enables him, with their coop-

eration, to begin to loosen his dependent ties to them. He is ready to handle reality, to learn, to do things for himself. With his parents' encouragement, he continues to develop and reinforce his self-dependence throughout these years of six to ten.

At this time, his personality is enriched by similar identifications with other adults in his environment—his teachers, the mothers and fathers of his friends, Scout leaders, camp counselors, the traffic officer on the corner. And one who has been his ideal this month may be replaced by another next month. These people are second in importance only to his parents, and he takes over their attitudes and standards.

Ready to learn

This is the time when most children first go out into a world quite different from home. They enter more formal schooling. Most of them enjoy this separation from home. To them it is a step forward toward independence—toward growing up—which is a natural striving in childhood.

The child now wants to be "good," and this wish becomes an important ally of the teacher. The child looks to her for help in doing what he thinks is expected of him. He does his schoolwork not only to gratify himself, but to please his parents and teacher, to gain their approval and avoid their punishment. Everyone is familiar with the positive reactions of children to firm but kindly and just teachers. A child gets a feeling of stability and security from his teacher's demands for what she knows he can do under her supervision. It is this type of relationship that the child needs and values, not the "mother-substitute" one of emotional satisfactions that he can get at home from his own mother.

The emotionally adjusted child is ready for learning. He has diverted his curiosity from his own body and its functions to the world about him. He is interested and inquisitive. He asks many questions, wants to explore, looks for adventures. He tries to understand what is going on around him. In fact, he is ready for academic education.

These qualities of the child are recognized and used in the current teaching methods. The

school encourages these very activities, supports the child in his drive for knowledge, utilizes emotionally significant experiences. It makes the most of the child's wish to do things for himself, of his awareness of himself as an individual, and of his growing need for group activities and experiences.

The child and his friends

The child is now intensely interested in the world of his peers. His friendships are very important to him, and his group relationships move forward. Becoming part of a group of his contemporaries is an absorbing concern. He wants to belong; he is sensitive to prestige and status; and he strives for confidence in himself as a person.

Early in this period, at six and seven, the interest in the group is quite self-centered. In itself the group is not too important to the child, but what it does for him in the way of helping him to recognize his own abilities and capacities is extremely important. Preferably the groups are small, since usually large groups rapidly lose their cohesiveness, if indeed there has been any. These early groups offer important experiences in getting along with others. In them the child recognizes the value of co-

operation, even though he cooperates on a selfish basis of giving in to, or doing for another child because in return he gets what he wants for himself.

At eight and nine, real group spirit and loyalty develop; cooperation is then based on the common good. Friends become very important, and a capacity for intimate, meaningful relationships with other children appears.

Play is important during this growth period. In it the child gains gratifications and satisfactions by acting out his wishes, his dreams for the future, his identifications with his heroes, his conceptions of himself and of what he wants from life.

In order to initiate and sustain normal development during this period, as during others, the child needs love and affection from those about him. He has to feel that he is a needed member of his family and that he has a definite place in the family's activities and interests. His attachment to his parents and his knowledge of their positive response to him are vitally important in helping him to develop the controls that enable him to turn toward the self-disciplines, learning, group adjustments, and formation of friendships that are characteristic of the years from six to ten.

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AGGRESSION IN CHILDREN

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AGGRESSION IN CHILDREN is an attractively illustrated, 32-page pamphlet written by Edith Lesser Atkin in conjunction with the staff of the Child Study Association, and endorsed by some of the leading authorities in the field of parent-child relationships. For the individual parent, teacher, professional worker, and for discussion groups.

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Child Study Association

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Adolescence is hard on everyone

By Sol Wiener Ginsburg, M.D.

An understanding doctor helps bewildered parents to
weather the inevitable trials
of a youngster's last steps in growing up

All of us were once adolescents. If adults could really remember that simple truth, we would automatically advance in our understanding, and probably in our management of the usual adolescent problems.

Like other such pieces of advice, that dictum is not quite so simple as it seems. Adolescence is a period of turbulent self-questioning and struggle for everyone, and a time of great humiliation and shame and of a deep feeling of inadequacy for many. That is why we tend to repress our memory of the experience, to try to forget about it. Certainly, we adults would like to believe that we were never the querulous, demanding, unpredictable, sulking, unappreciative characters that those adolescents with whom we must now deal almost always are. All the clichés about the younger generation reflect the success with which adults have managed to forget, to deny what their own adolescence was like. With this in mind I have tried to derive from my experience with young people some general conclusions about adolescence, with only a passing reference to those deviations that are so striking and serious.

The problems of adolescent delinquency and of those profoundly disturbing neurotic conflicts which have such extreme reverberations in fam-

ily and school situations have been more or less adequately dealt with in psychiatric and lay literature. A really disturbed adolescent can create havoc in a household. The hostility of such a youngster may provoke the adults in his environment from tolerance and patient forbearance to a retaliatory show of strength and often to overt hostility. And this establishes a vicious cycle that ultimately involves the child, his brothers and sisters, parents, grandparents, friends, teachers—in short, everyone with whom he is in contact—in a frenzy of trying to deal adequately with the consequences of his behavior. Such situations are beyond easy understanding and eventually require some kind of treatment.

Everyday problems of the adolescent

I prefer to discuss adolescence as the inevitable period between childhood and adulthood, a time of rapid physical, mental, and emotional change as well as of basic choice-making.

The biological, emotional, and intellectual growth which ordinarily accompanies adolescence, which in a real sense is adolescence, confronts the youngster with a whole array of problems. And, although it seems trite and obvious to remark it, they descend on him before

he is at all ready for them. To this fact the adults' recurrent theme, "If I could only do it over again, knowing what I know now," plays eloquent testimony. The biological, emotional, and intellectual changes are tremendous—how tremendous we do not usually stop to recall. The crack in the adolescent boy's voice, the ungainly mannerisms, the pudgy obesity seem pretty funny to adults. But to the youngster they are sources of painful embarrassment and, more significantly, they are the outward signs of a physical and psychological revolution. This involves, of course, the complicated process of sexual maturation and all the physical and emotional changes that necessarily accompany it. The younger child yearns to grow up, to be like an adult. The growing girl anticipates menstruation; and her male counterpart practices shaving a nonexistent beard.

But with adolescence it is as though such fooling around with being a grownup comes to a halt and the youngster must get down to the business of maturing. He has been evicted from childhood, and the departure from its protection and the vista of adulthood with all its responsibilities seem utterly appalling. As long as he could cling to the privileges of childhood he was not quite so frightened at the prospect of being an adult. But now adolescence forces him to recognize that adulthood is near at hand, and all the successive physical changes serve as constant reminders. As if this weren't enough, his elders frequently put it into words for him: "You're not a child any more."

The adolescent caught in this twilight zone, no longer a child but not yet an adult, turns increasingly to his peers and to those slightly older for approval and understanding. He can no longer share "kid stuff"; he is suspicious and wary of adults; his own gang offers him solidarity, interest, and the common bond of shared doubts and hostilities. It is partly to this need that the formation of destructive adolescent gangs may be attributed. On the other hand, this impulse to group cohesion, properly directed and nurtured, can stimulate most useful and healthy group activities. Clubs, teams, and other associations often afford important testing grounds for interests and talents. Not infrequently membership in them is the beginning of

important lifelong friendships and activities.

At the same time, this group identification also accounts for many of the excesses that make adolescent behavior so troublesome and often so sad. Keeping up with the gang often leads the youngster to behavior that he would have had neither the desire nor the courage to initiate on his own. In the group, bluster and bluff are necessary; at home they make the adolescent a little grotesque and pathetic.

In my experience I have often noted that much of the adult's impatience and displeasure result from this inappropriateness of adolescent behavior, its fumbling inadequacy and its futility. An average parent probably would not mind it so much if only the youngster were not seemingly so cocky about his doings, and so clearly frightened at the same time, and so helpless when confronted by rejection and failure.

The truculence of the adolescent boy's behavior is influenced in good part by two important cultural phenomena. In the average American family the father is out of the home practically all day and has little time to spend with his children. Although the shorter work day and week have done a good deal to change this, and there are gratifying changes in the attitudes of many fathers, especially younger ones, it may still be said that the American youngster is subject to predominantly feminine influences. And this is true not only of the home but also of the school, where the great majority of teachers in the early school years are women.

In the effort to free himself from such powerful feminizing influences, the adolescent boy assumes the attitudes of a compulsive, aggressive masculinity and strives, prematurely and clumsily, to assert what he thinks are masculine prerogatives and to revolt from the standards and practices of the home which he considers feminine. Naturally, as is true of all such revolutions, this one too is given to excesses. Now nothing the boy has learned at home is any longer to be considered good, and the specter of being a sissy hounds him to rebellion and disobedience. This ranges from the relatively innocent physical sloppiness to drinking, smoking, swearing excesses and their companion, sexual braggadocio. (True, sloppiness is no longer quite a masculine prerogative. I wonder when

the male adolescent, viewing the girl's self-conscious, imitative sloppiness in dress and manner, will give it up as no longer a useful protest against being a sissy!) The revolt from femininity is also involved in the group cohesion of which I spoke above, and is often responsible for some of the less healthy aspects of group activity.

The problem of the adolescent girl is not so clearly understood and is greatly complicated by the physical changes of adolescence in the female. In general, adults seem to be more tolerant of the excesses and idiosyncrasies of the adolescent girl.* Traditionally, adolescent girls are thought of as weaker and more delicate than their brothers. The beginning of the menstrual cycle usually elicits a greater degree of patience than does the biological development of boys. However, it would seem that the "clinging-vine" adolescent girl is pretty much out of style for the moment and the tomboy in the ascendancy, with the current "uniform" of turned-up blue denims and a man's shirt (tails out) everywhere to be seen. Nor are the gang aspects so familiar among girls, although the same drive is present in the cliques and clubs favored by them. Just what cultural changes, of which such shifts in dress and attitudes are an indication, will result cannot be clearly seen; nor is it plain what, if any, basic change may result in the community's attitude toward the adolescent girl, or, for that matter, in her attitudes toward herself and her world.

Sexual aspects of adolescence

We are all familiar with the usual adolescent crush on a camp counselor, a teacher, a somewhat older schoolmate, or, for that matter, on a national hero figure of the same sex. These crushes are an expression of the homosexual component that is a part of the sexual life of all human beings, and is in fact the expression of perfectly normal sexual interests. The intensity of such crushes often causes parents con-

siderable concern. This is especially true when the adolescent is so absorbed in the relationship that more usual social contacts are excluded; and particularly when the crush is associated with some form of overt sexual behavior, even though this is slight and incomplete.

To discuss this phase of sexual maturity in any detail is beyond the scope of these remarks. I think it can be regarded as part of the choice process that confronts everybody at adolescence. Obviously the vast majority of people "choose" heterosexuality and find satisfaction for their homosexual impulses in the socially acceptable outlets of friendship and the like. Of course it must be emphasized that this is in no sense a conscious choice: it is to be understood as a phase of the individual's entire life story.

An important part of the solution of this sexual problem is the handling of the youngster's attachment to his parents, especially the parent of the opposite sex. A healthy solution depends in good measure on the degree to which the child has been enabled to form healthy dependencies. This means that the dependencies must not be so excessive as to demand their prolongation into adulthood or so exclusive as to make painful, if not impossible, the shift to another, adult love object. This sort of useful environment will allow healthy relations with brothers and sisters which will inevitably include an opportunity for the child to become aware of hostility and jealousies (especially as between boy and girl) and to be allowed a reasonable degree of freedom in verbal and other expression of such feelings. In a sense, the child first confronts our competitive society within his own family situation and must really learn there—if he is ever to learn—the give-and-take and the respect for other people's needs and rights which are so necessary for successful living.

In our culture, the accepted method of heterosexual experimentation is dating and its comitants, necking and petting. The adolescent's almost religious need to define precisely the difference between these two is good evidence of the kernel of his dilemma: He wants to be like his elders, which (he thinks) requires fairly venturesome sexual experimentation; but

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* Two social workers who have had considerable experience with adolescents do not agree with this impression. I cannot say whether this reflects the bias of their own experiences, and there are no statistics to use to demonstrate the validity of the conclusion that I have advanced here.

By George E. Gardner, M.D.

Can parents grow along with their teen-agers?

"Can you walk a little faster?" Some adolescents do, on their way to maturity; others slow down. Here are examples

Everyone knows that boys and girls from twelve through fifteen or sixteen have occasional difficulties of adjustment. In order to gain an understanding appreciation of these difficulties it is helpful to review one requirement for growth toward maturity at any age: Learning and growth take place only when the child feels secure.

From the earliest steps in training in infancy to the acquiring of complex behavior and intellectual functioning, it is an observable fact that the feeling of security is of paramount importance. Rewards, ambitions, and discipline are secondary to this single factor in the development of the child. It is, of course, comparatively easy to note the presence or absence of security in early infancy. It is just as easy to overlook it or to minimize its importance in the steps that must be taken toward maturity and adulthood in the adolescent years.

Security for both parent and child

At best this feeling of security is complex and not too easy to describe. Its value and power are often easier to recognize when it is absent. However, we can say that a child feels secure when he realizes that he is loved, wanted, and enjoyed by his parents; when he is certain that he will not be abandoned or deserted;

when his home has the appearance of stability which ensures that his parents will be there indefinitely; when his parents protect him from external attacks or physical injuries by other people and by inanimate objects; when his parents protect him from expressing undesirable, primitive drives and impulses; when his faith in the completeness and truthfulness of parental teachings has been affirmed by repeated demonstrations of it; and when he is confident that his parents treat him as an individual worthwhile in himself, rather than as a composite picture of the very best and the most highly prized—or of the most undesirable and unwanted—character traits of his parents themselves or of other relatives with whom his parents may attempt to identify him.

To be sure, there may be additional elements needed in good parent-child relationships. But these seem to be the most important factors in producing that state of security so necessary for the child's orderly growth and maturity in behavior. Not only is this type of relationship necessary in the earliest years of growth; it is undeniably of equal importance in the relationship of parents to children who are passing through the complicated processes of adolescent growth.

Some of the adjustments that must be made

by adolescent boys and girls place as heavy a strain on the parents' adjustment and the parents' sense of security as on the young peoples'. Though perhaps present to some degree when their children were younger, such a strain was by no means as intense and threatening as when it is reborn in attempts to help their children with the problems of adolescence. In other words, parents must also have this sense of security to enable—or, in fact, to allow—their children to mature. More specifically, parents must have the power to grow and mature step by step with their adolescent youngsters. Otherwise the father and mother will find it difficult, if not impossible, to handle in a rational and mentally healthy manner the inescapable problems that their adolescents' growth process presents. It is just this possible disturbance of security feelings in both the adolescent child and the parent that makes for many of the serious problems and troublesome deviations in the adolescent's growth toward adult maturity.

In this respect both the parent and the child give open, observable responses to a particular maturity drive, either urging its assumption or delaying it. Associated with these responses are varying degrees of unexpressed but powerful feelings that may bring about just the opposite result. The very nature of the problems to be solved by adolescent children brings forth the contradictory impulses that are the basis for the disturbance in feelings of security.

Sex and adolescents

One of the most powerful thrusts toward maturity is the drive to attain normal and controlled expression of the sex instinct. This creates anxiety for both the adolescent and his parents. A definite and unvarying interest in persons of the opposite sex of the same age group is the expected and desired result. Not only is the drive toward this goal an essential element of the adolescent's biological make-up; it is also brought forth, aided and, in fact, demanded by the child's friends and immediate seniors. His friends' continuing acceptance of him is conditioned by his growth and success in this area of development.

Nevertheless, the adolescent's eventual and final acceptance of the mature sexual role ex-

pected of him presents a series of anxiety-creating situations. These may result in transient and temporary, or prolonged or even permanent, deviations from accepted typical behavior. Such deviations may last for only a short time, but while they are in effect they do block the adolescent's steps to the next stage in his psychosexual development. Furthermore, such evidences of the younger person's anxiety and insecurity never fail to evoke like anxieties, feelings of frustration, and a sense of parental failure.

The most general feeling of anxiety aroused in the adolescent by emerging sex drives goes back to alarming sex information and attitudes that he acquired earlier. It arises out of previously implanted notions that, in any of its expressions, sexuality is evil or sinful. Sometimes it is caused by the even more serious impression that sexuality or the sex act is by nature associated with aggressive and mutilative activities. Thus a child may fear that probable mutilation or physical injury awaits him; another may fear that as an individual he will of necessity perform such aggressive acts on another. When through warnings and misinformation a child is led to believe that sexual and aggressive impulses always go together, it is not difficult to see that the adolescent girl or boy is terrified at becoming an adult. Development is then thwarted despite all the pressures inside and outside the home which impel him forward. The child's anxiety and insecurity will not allow him to accept his adult role.

Does the child psychiatrist note this unfortunate association of aggressive and sexual expressions in only a few children who come to him for help because they already have great anxiety in regard to other problems? Quite the contrary is true. There is considerable evidence to justify the assumption that in the earliest years the association of mutilation and sexual expression is an almost universally accepted fear. In fact, the evidence suggests that the ability to distinguish between these two drives indicates that the child has arrived at a new stage of knowledge of human behavior. Usually, this distinction has become clear before the adolescent years are reached. One of the tasks of early childhood is to overcome this

earlier association of aggressive and sexual impulses. But experiences to which a child has been subjected or acts which he has witnessed and misinterpreted, together with misinformation or the lack of information, may prevent him from completing this task.

When anxiety is aroused by the continued association of these two drives, the adolescent child refuses to grow toward normal expression of the sexual instinct until understanding help and guidance from the parents, the family physician, or the child guidance specialist enable him to regain a sense of security and freedom from anxiety. This refusal to grow is demonstrated in various ways. The adolescent girl or boy may attempt to remain at her or his present stage of development, as if to deny that any advancement is necessary. The child assumes a protective neutral position; he denies any strong positive feelings for the persons or interests of either sex. He seems to believe that an absolute identification with either sex is dangerous; hence it is better to remain, as it were, asexual.

An adolescent girl will continue into the middle or late teens that tomboyishness that is so characteristic of the ten- or eleven-year-old. She will be more interested in success in games, sports, camping, and so forth than she is in acquiring feminine traits and skills. In the interests of defense she will continue to hold to the little-girl opinion that boys themselves are uncouth, aggressive, boisterous, and irritating pests. The adolescent boy, too, will tend to prolong his more secure childhood by denying a positive interest in girls, declaring that such interest is sissy. He declares to others, and tries to convince himself that girls are interfering brats with no particularly attractive or even acceptable characteristics. The prolongation of, or even sudden reversal to an interest in games and activities of a much lower level of boyhood development is not unusual. Much to the consternation of the parents, there may at the same time be an associated regression to earlier childhood standards in relation to personal care and appearance, and partial abandonment of previously acquired habits of cleanliness, orderliness, and neatness. When this occurs, it is not difficult to surmise that

such desirable habits have now become associated unconsciously with possible attractiveness to the opposite sex; and the adolescent boy will have none of it.

This is usually a temporary phase in the development of a particular adolescent. On the other hand, it may constitute a prolonged block to development. In either case, it can be of concern to parents, and it creates problems of varying degrees of intensity for them. The bases of these parental problems and conflicts are not difficult to analyze. On the one hand, the parents naturally hope that their child will progress toward complete adult development. They interpret any evidence of a block in that development as due to possible failure on their part. Their security and acceptability as parents are threatened, and they believe that somewhere along the line they have failed the child.

But this is only one side of this parental conflict. Almost equally strong as their desire and need for the child to accept his adult role is the opposite wish that he should not—"at least not yet"—give too much evidence of growing up. Because of special factors in their own education, training, and experience, the parents may either fear sexuality in general or be anxious about all the possible risks and dangers that confront the adolescent child. Hence they may unconsciously hope that the child will not grow up. In such a case, their own freedom from anxiety and their own continued feelings of security, as well as those of the child, are dependent on the child's not developing adult sex interests and expressions.

In the face of these conflicts, parents must do their best to examine critically the possible motivations for and against the assumption of maturity by their child—with the hope that understanding will give them greater tolerance, or at least more inner security, in responding to the forward or backward steps the child seems to be taking. The child may need guidance from someone more objective than the parents themselves. And guidance of the child demands an associated guidance of the parents. This necessarily includes a detailed review and evaluation of their attitudes, needs, and fears. This kind of review and re-evaluation, self-

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From a counselor's notebook

The following summaries from cases of the Family Counseling Service of the Child Study Association point up some of the difficulties children may face in growing up. Because the summaries are brief, they necessarily oversimplify many of the underlying causes and motivations of both the parents and the children.

Billy had trouble at nursery school

Four-year-old Billy was a quiet little boy who was no trouble at home. But at the small suburban nursery school he had trouble and caused trouble. He couldn't take part in group play. He couldn't make friends with the other children. His giggling, his silly behavior, and his sudden physical attacks on the other children were most disturbing. He had the place in such an uproar that his mother was warned that she would have to remove him unless she got professional help.

Billy was an unplanned-for child of his parents' later years. His parents were rather undemonstrative, and they showed little capacity for insight into their little boy's behavior. In addition, they were harassed by the struggle to educate Billy's two older brothers on a small income. And their house was so small that Billy slept in their bedroom.

Billy loved his teacher. She was a warm and understanding young woman. Billy hung around her. He flirted with her and courted her. She in turn encouraged him to talk. She answered all his questions, including some he didn't even put into words but seemed to be asking—such as, for instance, questions about the differences between boys and girls.

The parents felt sure that Billy was a sound sleeper and quite unaware of them in the night.

But the counselor questioned this. Could they be sure? Was it not possible that he was puzzled and curious about the close intimacy of his parents, even though he did not really know what it meant? Drastic changes in a family's living arrangements are always difficult, but wouldn't such a change be worth the inconvenience if it relieved Billy's anxiety?

So the dining room was turned into a bedroom for Billy's parents. Perhaps this helped in the change that took place in the little boy. He became more willing and ready and able to join in the play with the other children. He no longer stayed so close to his teacher. His ingratiating, courting attitude slowly changed to one of friendly affection.

At the same time, he began to express some of his hostility toward his parents. The counselor had forewarned them that this might happen. When he was now noisy at home, when he refused to pick up his toys or to wash his hands, even when he hit out at his father, his parents were able to recognize his behavior as progress and to let him discharge some of his pent-up emotions at home. By the end of the schoolyear, they acknowledged a great difference in him. Their colorless, rather sullen little boy seemed to have come to life. Though he was no longer so easy to live with, he began to show a new sparkle and animation.

This four-year-old seemed to have been struggling with the conflict typical of this age. He had resented sharing his mother with anyone else, especially with his father. Sleeping in his parents' bedroom seemed to reinforce his resentment and the anxiety that it caused. Although he had been both quiet and docile at home, he had been aggressive at school. At

school, he had been acting out his conflicts and his curiosity.

The deeper understanding of Billy's parents helped Billy to take another step in giving up some childhood fantasies.

Timmy clung to his mother

Two-year-old Timmy had an unhappy time whenever he went to the playground with his mother. So did his mother. For Timmy seemed to find it impossible to leave her to join in the play of the other children. The more his mother urged him to go off to have fun with the other youngsters, the closer he clung to her. So both Timmy and his mother were pretty tense every day as they started off for the playground.

It didn't take many interviews to help Timmy's mother understand something of the problem. She had become concerned about her son's dependence on her. It was hard for her to realize that a normal two-year-old may find it difficult to leave his mother in order to join freely in the other children's play. Reassured that she would not be fostering dependence if she let a child this young play near her, she relaxed and began to enjoy their outings together. Her new attitude, her enjoyment of him and easy way with him, gave Timmy a new feeling of security, too. Knowing that his mother would welcome him whenever he needed to return to her, he was able to venture forth more often on his own.

Carol was rude

Another child had trouble at the playground, too. Carol, almost three, struck and scratched the smaller children. At home, she was unfriendly and rude to her parents' friends; in no uncertain terms, she would tell them loudly to "Go home!"

In addition, Carol wouldn't give up her bottle, though often she flung it away. Carol's mother felt certain that the little girl's unwillingness to give it up meant merely that she still needed the pleasure of sucking. The mother had warned her child that throwing the bottle away again would mean that she really didn't want it back. But the mother was unable to carry out her threat the next time Carol de-

manded the bottle. "Might not Carol find this too frustrating?" she asked anxiously.

Carol had a five-month-old baby brother, but her mother believed he was not the cause of Carol's behavior. After all, Carol "adored" her little brother. She gave him all her toys. She couldn't bear to hear him cry, and insisted that her mother go to him immediately.

Carol's mother related with some pride how this had been accomplished. She and her husband had leaned over backwards to protect their little girl from jealousy. When Carol was rude, they tried harder than ever to prove to her that they loved her more than her brother. They fondled her and petted her. They spoke of what a nuisance it was to have to feed and change the baby so often. As far as possible, they ignored the baby when Carol was present. This left them little time to play with the baby. They were sure he did not suffer from the lack of attention, however, because he was a placid baby who never cried.

But the counselor was not so sure. She recognized that the baby needed more play, that even at his age he needed a sense of belonging. She thought that being excluded from the family circle might be contributing to his unresponsive personality, might slow his development.

Apparently Carol was not reassured by her parents' ignoring of the baby either. She became more and more aggressive on the playground, and ruder to her parents' friends.

The mother's usual façade had been one of complete patience and self-control. But now she was troubled by a growing irritability toward her daughter. Why should Carol act this way? Why was she so hard to manage? Why couldn't she appreciate her parents' rare understanding?

Like so many mothers today who have become afraid of denying their children anything, Carol's mother had become too permissive. Although at the playground she might remove Carol from the little children who couldn't protect themselves against the hitting and scratching, she didn't go much further in trying to stop these anti-social acts. And she made no move to take away the bottle; she was waiting until Carol would give it up by herself.

The mother's own childhood proved signifi-

cant. She too had had a younger brother. She had been intensely jealous of him and had always felt that he was her mother's favorite. After many interviews, as Carol's mother gained understanding of herself, she began to see that her fear of her daughter's jealousy of the baby had been intensified by her own sufferings in a similar situation. No longer afraid of Carol's reaction, the mother began to play with the baby in Carol's presence. Together Carol and her mother or father fed the baby. Carol was sent to bring a diaper. Carol helped her father to select a new toy for the baby.

Carol seemed relieved by all this. Now the baby became a part of the family. Since she recognized the part her parents were taking in caring for the baby, Carol felt freer to express her own feelings toward him. She no longer felt that she was the only one who was paying attention to him and giving him affection. After all, if their parents could ignore the baby as much as they had seemed to, they might conceivably ignore her too someday; but now they were giving love and affection to them both. So Carol lost some of her anxiety. As a result of the parents' new attitude toward the baby, Carol did not feel so responsible toward him; she didn't have to be the one to show affection for him. She could ignore him or even get angry at him sometimes. Occasionally she would say that she hated him and that her parents should "send him back." And as she felt free to express her anger, the outbursts became fewer and shorter. Since she no longer had to hide her anger at her parents or her baby brother, she stopped transferring it to others. She discovered that her parents still gave her love and attention. They took her on special excursions from which a baby had to be excluded. They might play with a rattle with the baby, but they helped her build houses with blocks; and they praised the fine structures she built by herself.

As Carol's mother talked to the counselor about her own childhood, she came to realize that in her own jealousy of her younger brother she had been very angry at her mother. Feeling guilty about this anger, she had buried it so completely that she thought of her mother as perfect. She reported, too, that her mother

had not finally weaned her from the bottle until she was quite a big girl. Now if she accepted the principal of early weaning, it would imply a criticism of her mother which she had never been able to allow herself. As she recognized this, Carol's mother was able to understand and to modify her own extreme permissiveness; gradually she became able to set up the controls necessary for Carol's development.

The mother had been fearful that Carol's aggressive behavior would be increased by having to share her parents and to give up the bottle. Actually, the reverse proved to be true. It was as though Carol, helped to take these steps to maturity, felt stronger, more secure, better able to handle her other relationships.

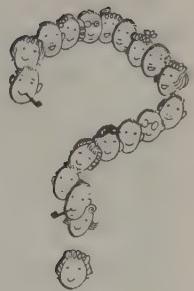
Halfway down

By A. A. Milne

Halfway down the stairs
Is a stair
Where I sit.
There isn't any
Other stair
Quite like
It.
I'm not at the bottom,
I'm not at the top;
So this is the stair
Where
I always
Stop.

Halfway up the stairs
Isn't up,
And isn't down.
It isn't in the nursery,
It isn't in the town.
And all sorts of funny thoughts
Run round my head:
"It isn't really
Anywhere!
It's somewhere else
Instead!"

Parents' questions



Aline B. Auerbach, editor

These questions are selected and discussed
by the Child Study Association
staff, and the answers written by its various members

I am considering entering my son David, just past three, in a well-recommended nursery school in this area. David is quite dependent on me, due partly to the fact that I have taken complete care of him up till now.

The director and the teacher claim that the sooner a mother leaves, the quicker her child adjusts to the group—no matter how much the child protests. They say that many children have no real need for the security of having their mothers stay with them for a while, but make a scene when their mothers leave only to find out what the mothers' limits are.

What should I do?

Mrs. D.L.D.

You are quite right in wanting to make David's first real separation from his mother as easy for him as you reasonably can. A three-year-old may be ready to make constructive use of nursery school; but his tie to his mother may still be strong, and in the long run his adjustment to the group is likely to be better if he is eased into the new experience gradually.

By the age of three or four a child wants to learn to get along with other children, if he can count on mother's protection when needed. He will come to the teacher as a substitute if she is friendly and not too busy to be aware of him and his needs. But surely it is understandable that he might need his mother's reassuring presence for a few days or even a few weeks,

until this new and frightening situation becomes a little more familiar.

If we accept children's behavior at its face value, it is true, as David's teachers say, that they often seem to adjust faster without their mothers' presence. If the separation is too abrupt, however, the child is all too likely to be concealing inner panic behind an impassive front. What is the use of crying? His mother has deserted him, leaving him with strangers.

Fortunately, an increasing number of schools are recognizing the child's right to be eased into his first break from home, whether at three, four, or five, by having his mother stay for a while if he needs her to. If you assure the nursery school that you will remain unobtrusively in the background, the director may let you stay with David, at least the first few days. If not, perhaps you will want to postpone nursery school another few months, or even a year. Meanwhile you can help to prepare your son by brief visits to the school, perhaps by leaving him occasionally with other friendly adults.

But however you may disagree with some of the school's practices, try to avoid letting David sense your apprehension. The thing that matters most is his underlying feeling of security in your relationship with him. Your confidence in his ability to meet a situation, and your willingness to stand behind him, will help him to withstand minor shocks.

What shall I tell my four-and-a-half-year-old about Santa Claus? At first I thought I wouldn't try to make him believe this myth. Then when I saw him at a Christmas party, not comprehending the thrill of the other children who expected Santa to fill their stockings, I wondered if I was right. But would it be a terrible blow for him to discover someday not only that Santa doesn't exist but also that his parents have deceived him? MRS. R.F.L.

Santa Claus, as you say, is a myth with which both children and parents embellish Christmas celebrations, and he is best treated gaily. Everybody gets a thrill out of accepting him for the moment as true—well, anyway, perhaps true. If Santa Claus is offered in this spirit, it seems doubtful that a child who in general has been dealt with fairly by his parents will harbor deep resentments when he awakens from his absolute faith in this familiar figure.

Perhaps you can best guard against the pain of disillusionment if you treat the myth as a marvelous tale, maintaining a "maybe so, maybe not" approach to it. "However do you suppose those reindeer get down the chimney?" you may ask. Thus, without flat-footedly destroying the fun of make-believe, you encourage the child to doubt a bit. Most children discard Santa Claus painlessly and imperceptibly as their sense of reality matures with the years. You will perhaps vary your own part in this development according to the kind of child you have. Some children are practical and realistic with a "you-can't-fool-me" attitude that develops early in life. Others are wide-eyed and intensely serious about the world of fantasy. Children who approximate the first type need no reinforcement of their superior wisdom. But the child for whom the borderline between dream and reality gets lost in the mists, needs help in getting down to earth. That kind of child can be told something like this: "Santa Claus is a wonderful old sprite. At Christmastime, we all like to pretend he is real; but of course we're just imagining."

Strange to say, most children will go on with their fun about Santa even after they know deep down that he's just a game. This is especially true if their parents, along with

the enjoyment, keep a playful spirit about him. Children recognize this attitude—when they're ready to do so.

My son of twelve has been receiving an allowance of twenty-five cents a week for several years. Now he is asking to have this increased to two dollars, which is what his chum gets. Isn't this too much for a twelve-year-old to have? S.E.

If he is responsible in other ways, a boy of this age is quite capable of managing such an allowance, if you can afford it. If he is given an allowance of this size, he should assume the responsibility for some of his regular expenses, and these should be talked over with him in advance. The two dollars could well cover such things as carfare, haircuts, movies, candy.

His allowance should be so planned that after these expenses are taken care of your boy will still have a quarter or more to spend as he wishes. It is this margin for decision which makes an allowance a tool for training in making choices and in discrimination about money values. Remember that your youngster is bound to make some mistakes and that he can learn by these experiences.

Isn't fourteen too young for a girl to go out alone with a boy? My daughter has been "boy crazy" ever since she was twelve, but now I'm beginning to be really worried about it. The boys she likes are mostly a lot older than she. We have constant arguments because I won't let her go to the movies alone with a boy at night. Am I right? MRS. C.D.W.

There isn't any "yes or no" answer to this question. Elsewhere in this issue you've read that children differ greatly as to the age when they develop an interest in the opposite sex. It's likely to be earlier in girls than in boys. This explains, perhaps, why your daughter's boy friends are usually older than she. At fourteen some girls are quite mature in their attitudes toward boys. Your daughter's interest in boys isn't at

Continued on page 30



Book reviews

How to Help Your Child in School.

By Mary and Lawrence K. Frank.

New York: Viking Press, 1950. 378 pp. \$2.95.

Among the great number of books on child development and parent education, this is the one that has been missing. The flood started over sixty years ago, as young people emerged in growing numbers from their homes and created new problems in the schools and in the community, with books on the adolescent. Then, with the growth of medical and biological knowledge, attention turned to the infant. And next it moved on to the preschool years. Compared to the books on infants, young children, and adolescents, the school-age child represents the neglected period.

How to Help Your Child in School will, therefore, be welcomed by professional workers and parents alike. It consists of a happy blend of practical, personal experience and thorough, specialized knowledge. The authors write as parents to parents, aware of the basic difficulties in parent-child relationships and familiar with the new developments in our knowledge of the child.

After a brief introductory chapter on "Home and School," six of the twelve chapters in the book deal with the successive stages from nursery school to the later grades. The other five, however, offer a helpful orientation to parents regarding the nature of the child and the nature of present-day needs for readjustment, under the titles: "How a Young Child Grows and Learns," "Families Old and New," "The Family's Role," "The Middle Years of Childhood," "Parent, Teacher and Community."

While advising parents on helping their children in school, as if school were primarily the place where children learn in the traditional

sense, the authors broaden the reader's conception of the many ways of learning and the many kinds of learning, in accordance with the newer scientific and practical knowledge of the developing child.

The strength of the book lies in the authors' familiarity with the problems of parent-child relationships and parent-teacher relationships, which they have acquired from both practical experience and study. Some teachers may feel that there is not the same familiarity with various types of schools and classroom situations and with teacher-pupil relationships. Teachers as well as parents, however, will find help in the practical, common-sense interpretation of newer understandings of child development.

There are helpful reading lists for each chapter, a list of governmental and private agencies concerned with the education and welfare of children, and a good index.

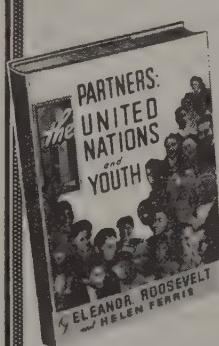
How to Help Your Child in School breaks new ground and is an important pioneer contribution. It should be of great help and interest to all who are concerned about the welfare of children.

SIDONIE M. GRUENBERG

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
AND HELEN FERRIS

**tell the heartwarming story
of the UN and the youth of
the world today—in**

**PARTNERS: THE
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Written for young people
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important part in the
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gives a vivid picture of how
the U. N. works. Dozens
of warm, human informal
stories. More than 100 illus-
trations. Colored endpapers
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At all booksellers

High School Age DOUBLEDAY JR. BOOKS



New books for children



Selected by the Children's Book Committee of the Child Study Association

The titles suggested here as an aid to holiday giving are selected from a more comprehensive list, "Books of the Year for Children," to be published soon. For convenience they have been arranged in age groupings, but many have a far wider appeal than can be indicated. All the books listed are on exhibit at the Association's headquarters.

Collections

CHILDREN'S STORIES. Selected by the Child Study Association. Illus. by Theresa Kalab. Whitman. \$1.00. A treasury of stories and verse, traditional and modern, wisely selected to meet a variety of interests—fantasy, humor, and everyday life—for reading aloud or self-reading. An invaluable backlog for the family circle. (4-8)

BETTER HOMES AND GARDENS STORY BOOK. Selected by Betty O'Connor. Meredith. \$2.95. Beloved stories and verses from the recent past, with their original illustrations, put together into a handsome gift book. (5-10)

THE SECOND ST. NICHOLAS ANTHOLOGY. Edited by Henry Steele Commager. Random. \$5.00. More selections from the treasure-trove of old St. Nicholas Magazines. A fine collection for the literature-loving child. (10-14)

ONCE UPON A TIME. Edited by Rose Dobbs. Illus. by Flavia Gág. Random. \$2.00. Twenty cheerful short stories, folk and modern, for reading aloud. Well-printed also for self-reading. (6-9)

HOLIDAY ROUND UP. Selected by Lucile Pannell and Frances Cavanah. Macrae. \$3.00. A wide variety of holidays, national and religious, commemorated in well-selected stories with helpful explanatory introductions. (9-12)

GIGGLE BOX. Selected by Phyllis R. Fenner. Illus. by William Steig. Knopf. \$2.50. Rib-tickling humor is the common ingredient of these stories collected by a skilled anthologist and enhanced by Steig's inimitable drawings. (8-10)

INDIANS, INDIANS, INDIANS. COWBOYS, COWBOYS, COWBOYS. Selected by Phyllis R. Fenner. Illus. by Manning deV. Lee. Watts. \$2.50 each. Two books of modern, action-packed stories from varied sources, full of the flavor of America now and not so long ago. (10-14)

PALOMINO AND OTHER HORSES. Edited and illus. by Wesley Dennis. World. \$2.50.

24 HORSES. Collected by Frances Cavanah and Ruth Cromer Weir. Illus. by Wesley Dennis. Rand. \$2.50. Two excellent anthologies for the horse-devotee. (9-12)

DOG SHOW. Compiled by Wilhelmina Harper. Illus. by Marie C. Nichols. Houghton. \$2.75. All kinds of dogs in a first-rate collection of modern

stories with appealing portraits of real dogs. THE MERRY PIPER: 70 Favorite Poems. Illus. by Harlow Rockwell. Simon & Schuster. 25¢. A little book of always-welcome verse—big value at a quarter. (5-8)

Christmas

THE ANIMALS' MERRY CHRISTMAS. by Kathryn Jackson. Illus. by Richard Scarry. Simon & Schuster. \$1.50. New stories, poems, and songs in a book as gay and attractive as tinsel on the tree. (4-7)

LUCY'S CHRISTMAS. By Anne Molloy. Illus. by John O'Hara Cosgrave II. Houghton. \$2.00. How Lucy brought about the happiest Christmas for her brothers. Winter in Maine effectively conveyed by the artist. (8-11)

BIDDY CHRISTMAS. Written and illus. by Priscilla M. Warner. Doubleday. \$2.50. Winsome, tender story of a little girl and her donkey. Set in the English countryside and illustrated with fine woodcuts. (9-12)

THE BOOK OF THE YEAR. By Fritz Peters. Drawings by Ilonka Karasz. Harpers. \$2.50. In poetic monologues, the house, rain, sun, etc., tell their inmost thoughts as month follows month. A rare read-aloud book for imaginative children of all ages.

THE TRAPP FAMILY BOOK OF CHRISTMAS SONGS. Selected and arranged by Franz Wasner. Illus. by Agathe Trapp. Pantheon. \$2.75. Traditional songs of many languages with both original and English texts plus explanatory notes. Beautifully decorated. For the whole family.

For the youngest: under five

WHERE'S THE BUNNY? By Ruth Carroll. Oxford. \$2.00. Delectable pictures in a wee tale of a cavorting puppy and his friend, the bunny. For the very youngest.

THE QUIET NOISY BOOK. By Margaret Wise Brown. Pictures by Leonard Weisgard. Harpers. \$1.50. Imaginative picture-sequence full of surprises about the very quiet noise that woke up the little dog.

MR. MUSHROOM. Written and illus. by Louis Slobockin. Macmillan. \$1.25. Gay whimsy in miniature, with delicate pictures, inviting the very young listener to participate.

I LIKE WINTER. By Lois Lenski. Oxford. \$1.00. Happy jingles, a catching song, and bright pictures; another tiny book in a fine seasonal series.

THE GREAT BIG ANIMAL BOOK. Pictures by Feodor Rojankovsky. Simon & Schuster. \$1.00. Wonderful, big pictures make mother and baby animals almost come alive.

SURPRISE FOR SALLY. By Ethel Crowninshield.

THE COLOR KITTENS. By Margaret Wise Brown.

THE HAPPY MAN AND HIS DUMP TRUCK. By Miryam.

THE LITTLE FAT POLICEMAN. By Margaret Wise Brown and Edith Thacher Hurd. Simon & Schuster. 25¢ each. Little books full of action and colorful pictures to meet the varied interests of very young listeners.

Ages five, six, and seven

COCOLO'S HOME. Written and illus. by Bettina. Harpers. \$2.50. This beloved donkey has further hilarious adventures to discover, at the end, that home is where the heart is. Storytelling pictures in a beautiful book.

THE CIRCUS BABY. Written and illus. by Maud and Miska Petersham. Macmillan. \$1.50. A baby elephant's excursion into etiquette makes an amusing picture-story.

WHO DREAMS OF CHEESE? Written and illus. by Leonard Weisgard. Scribners. \$2.00. Poetic words and imaginative pictures combine in a book about beloved creatures and their very special dreams.

THE PUPPY WHO CHASED THE SUN. Written and illus. by Le Grand. Wonder Books. 25¢. Pride goeth before a fall in this highly diverting little dog story with pictures to match.

THE GRAYMOUSE FAMILY. By Nellie M. Leonard. Illus. by Barbara Cooney. Crowell. \$2.00. A refreshing mouse's-eye view of our world in the lively adventures of a wee-animal family. Captivating illustrations enhance an old-fashioned story.

SQUIRRELY OF WILLOW HILL. Written and illus. by Berta and Elmer Hader. Macmillan. \$2.00. True story of a baby squirrel who finds a foster home. Fine harmony of text and pictures.

PATSY AND THE PUP. Written and illus. by Hilda van Stockum. Viking. \$1.50. A winsome little girl restores a puppy to its owner, with unexpected results. The picture-to-each-page makes this an inviting early reader.

ONE HORSE FARM. Written and illus. by Dahlov Ipcar. Doubleday. \$2.00. A baby horse and baby boy, born on the same day, grow up together in an appealing picture book of farm life.

"HI, MISTER ROBIN!" By Alvin Tresselt. Illus. by Roger Duvoisin. Lothrop. \$2.00. A little boy observes the signs of approaching spring in a joyous book of beautiful, splashy pictures.

ROSA-TOO-LITTLE. Written and illus. by Sue Felt. Doubleday. \$2.00. When Rosa could write her name on a library card she wasn't "too little" any more. A heartwarming picture-story.

THE ENCHANTED PLAYHOUSE. Written and illus. by Mabel Betsy Hill. Lippincott. \$1.75. Their yearning for a playhouse is miraculously fulfilled for two little girls in a pleasant story for beginning readers.

A BELL FOR URSLI. By Selina Chönz. Illus. by Alois Carigiet. Oxford. \$2.50. Rhymed tale of a

dauntless little Swiss boy and how he finds the biggest bell of all. An unusual book with superb modern pictures.

A BOAT FOR PEPPE. Written and illus. by Leo Politi. Scribners. \$2.00. A devout and tender tale of the fisher-folk of a California town, exquisitely portrayed in text and pictures.

THE GOOD RAIN. By Alice E. Goudey. Illus. by Nora S. Unwin. Aladdin. \$1.75. The life-giving quality of rain, in city and country, set forth in a welcome and decorative picture-book.

CABOOSE. By Edith Thacher Hurd. Illus. by Clement Hurd. Lothrop. \$1.25. Triumph of a little caboose, in a picture-story full of information about trains and the men who live and work on them.

PAWNEE. By Thelma Harrington Bell. Illus. by Corydon Bell. Viking. \$2.00. Fresh and delightful fantasy of an Indian doll told with a tongue-in-cheek quality. Effective detailed drawings.

THE WIZARD OF OZ. By L. Frank Baum. Adopted by Allen Chaffee. Illus. by Anton Loeb. Random. \$1.00. A favorite of several generations of children, adapted for younger readers in a beautiful book with superb new pictures.

Ages seven, eight, and nine

DOCTOR DOOLITTLE AND THE GREEN CANARY. Written and illus. by Hugh Lofting. Lippincott. \$2.75. This story, completed after the death of the beloved author, maintains humor and plot worthy of the tradition.

FREDDY THE COWBOY. By Walter R. Brooks. Illus. by Kurt Wiese. Knopf. \$2.50. A new tale of this inimitable pig, which maintains a remarkable level of spontaneity and humor.

THE TAMING OF GIANTS. By Patricia Gordon. Illus. by Garry MacKenzie. Viking. \$2.00. An endearing field mouse tames his human friends (giants to-him) in unexpected ways. Rich in humor and enchanting pictures.

THE TUNE IS IN THE TREE. By Maud Hart Lovelace. Illus. by Eloise Wilkin. Crowell. \$2.50. Much about birds and their ways, in a captivating fantasy of a little girl who shares in the life of a bird family.

PIPI LONGSTOCKING. By Astrid Lindgren. Translated from the Swedish by Florence Lamborn. Illus. by Louis S. Glanzman. Viking. \$2.00. Preposterous adventures of a girl who lives with a horse and a monkey (without grownups) and can always conjure up unheard-of things to do.

DICK WHITTINGTON AND HIS CAT. Illus. by Marcia Brown. Scribners. \$1.75. The ageless tale in a vigorous retelling with numerous fine linoleum cuts. A distinguished book.

BAMBI'S CHILDREN. By Felix Salten. Random. \$1.00. The warm feeling for creatures is retained in this adaption for young readers of the classic story of a deer family and their forest friends. Tenderly illustrated by Phoebe Erickson.

THE GRAY-NOSED KITTEN. By Miriam E. Mason. Illus. by Marie C. Nichols. Houghton. \$2.00. A kitten nobody wanted finds a little boy with the same trouble, and their companionship blooms. An easy self-reader.

THE RUNAWAY ELEPHANT. By Ellen Tarry. Illus. by Oliver Harrington. Viking. \$1.50. A little boy, his friend, an elephant, and a newspaper reporter make news in this heartwarming story of Harlem.

THE AUSTRIAN COLT. By Florence Wightman Rowland. Illus. by Edgard Cirlin. Macrae. \$1.50.

A ten-year-old boy recaptures a horse for plowing and helps to rebuild an impoverished farm in postwar Austria.

SURPRISE FOR A COWBOY. By Clyde Robert Bulla. Illus. by Grace Paull. Crowell. \$2.25. Information for young would-be cowboys and cowgirls, woven into a pleasant story about ranch life with some exciting high-spots.

HENRY HUGGINS. By Beverly Cleary. Illus. by Louis Darling. Morrow. \$2.00. The acquisition of a dog touches off a succession of humorous episodes in lighthearted stories of small-town home and school adventures.

GOOD LUCK DUCK. By Meindert DeJong. Pictures by Marc Simont. Harpers. \$2.00. A boy's day at a noisy fair with an unpredictable ferris wheel and a unique pet. Amusing pictures.

LIGHTFOOT. By Katherine B. Shippen. Illus. by Tom Two-Arrows. Viking. \$2.00. Glimpses into the childhood of an Iroquois Indian boy with bits of the tribal culture of the great League of the Iroquois.

PHILIPPE'S HILL. By Lee Kingman. Illus. by Hildegard Woodward. Doubleday. \$2.00. The hill behind the house of a French-Canadian lad held many of his dreams, and really helped make some of them come true. Well printed for easy reading.

MAGIC MONEY. By Ann Nolan Clark. Illus. by Leo Politi. Viking \$2.50. Intimate and sensitive picture of a Costa Rican family, particularly of Tony, the youngest, whose "wanting secret" is realized.

A CAP FOR MUL CHAND. By Julie Forsyth Bachelor. Illus. by Corinne V. Dillon. Harcourt. \$2.00. A small boy's attempt to achieve a cap for a visit to Bombay makes a flavorful, warm story. Large type for easy reading, and pictures full of life.

BETSY'S LITTLE STAR. Written and illus. by Carolyn Haywood. Morrow. \$2.00. All the little happenings so dear to younger readers. Another Betsy book, this time about her little sister.

THE MOST WONDERFUL DOLL IN THE WORLD. By Phyllis McGinley. Illus. by Helen Stone. Lippincott. \$1.75. When her dream-doll comes to life, Dulcy learns to accept reality. A story full of enchantment. Irresistible pictures.

ANGELINA AMELIA—A DOLL. Written and illus. by Henrietta Jones Moon. Crowell. \$1.75. Several generations of little girls have loved Angelina, but a little girl of today loves her most of all. A gentle tale with delicate pictures.

SCHOOLROOM ZOO. By Catherine Woolley. Illus. by Iris Beatty Johnson. Morrow. \$2.00. Little Ellie collects pets of all varieties. A friendly home-and-school story.

THREE RING CIRCUS. Written and illus. by Emma L. Brock. Knopf. \$2.50. Amusing story of a tomboy who aspires to be a circus performer, until an interest in music changes her ambition, to the relief of her family. Large type.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, DISCOVERER. By Alberta Powell Graham. Illus. by Janice Holland. Abingdon. \$1.50. Fine introductory biography of the famous discoverer, from his boyhood to the discovery of America.

PETER STUYVESANT: Boy with Wooden Shoes. By Mabel Cleland Widdemer. Bobbs-Merrill. \$1.75. The background of Dutch customs and New Amsterdam life contributes to a lively story in this easy-to-read biography.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Written and illus. by Ingri and Edgar Parin d'Aulaire. Doubleday. \$2.50. The many-sided activities of this versatile

genius of American life, portrayed in superb lithographs and narrative. A handsome and fascinating book.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN. Written and illus. by Genevieve Foster. Scribners. \$2.00. The beloved figure, presented simply in a first biography, brief but satisfying. Pictures bring the period to life.

Ages nine, ten, and eleven

THE SKY RIVER. By Chang Fa-Shun. Illus. by Jeannee Wong. Lothrop. \$2.50. A delicate Chinese fairy tale, the subtlety and fragrance of which will appeal to the older reader in this group.

THE FIRE ON THE MOUNTAIN and Other Ethiopian Stories. By Harold Courlander and Wolf Leslau. Holt. \$3.00.

KANTCHIL'S LIME PIT. By Harold Courlander. Both illus. by Robert Kane. Harcourt. \$2.75. Two fine collections of folk tales full of flavor, gentle satire, and the folk-wisdom of the ages. Outstanding illustrations.

JACK O'MOORA AND THE KING OF IRELAND'S SON. By Bryan MacMahon. Illus. by Richard Bennett. Dutton. \$2.00. A lusty fairy story thrillingly told in rich rhythmic prose with humor and imagination.

JOHN HENRY AND HIS HAMMER. By Harold W. Felton. Illus. by Aldren A. Watson. Knopf. \$2.50. Vigorous presentation of the superman of American folklore, beautifully told and powerfully illustrated.

HOMER THE TORTOISE. By Margaret J. Baker. Whittlesey. \$2.00. A scholarly tortoise becomes the friend and adviser of three delightful little English girls. A witty and engaging tale.

ROSES FOR BONNY BELLE. By Martha Gwinn Kiser. Random. \$2.00. Ingratiating story of a lovable young orphan who achieves her heart's desire—to be adopted by her jolly uncle and aunt.

TEXAS TOMBOY. Written and illus. by Lois Lenski. Lippincott. \$2.50. The vicissitudes of ranch life in Texas of the 1920's, with a lively and courageous heroine. Illustrations strong in local flavor.

MARY LIZZIE. By Florence Musgrave. Houghton. \$2.25. An engaging little redhead, leaving her native Wales, overcomes the difficulties of being a "foreigner" to become a happy American.

SU-MEI'S GOLDEN YEAR. By Marguerite Harmon Bro. Illus. by Kurt Wiese. Doubleday. \$2.50. Chinese village life today, with the first gropings toward modern science and education, as seen through the eyes of an appealing little girl, her family, and her friends.

WINDFALL FIDDLE. By Carl Carmer. Illus. by Arthur Conrad. Knopf. \$2.50. A boy's disappointment over a violin acquired with soap coupons sets in motion a lively series of adventures, tall tales, and nostalgic memories.

THE SHINING SHOOTER. By Marion Renick. Illus. by Dwight Logan. Scribners. \$2.25. An engaging small boy learns about tournament marble playing—and also, subtly, about the problems of children whose fathers were lost in the war. Excellent characterization.

HIDDEN TRAPEZES. By Edward Fenton. Illus. by Reisie Lonette. Doubleday. \$2.50. Seals and snakes and circus folk in Mrs. Fatima's home give Robin a push toward success on the high wires and confidence in himself.

THIS BOY CODY. By Leon Wilson. Illus. by Ursula Koering. Watts. \$2.50. Unusually refreshing story of Tennessee boyhood and the wonder-

- ful adventures that almost never stop happening to Cody after his tenth birthday.
- THAD OWEN.** By Hazel Wilson. Illus. by William Sharp. Abingdon. \$2.50. Another brisk story of the redoubtable Owen boys, this time about young Thad's exciting escapades.
- CHEE AND HIS PONY.** By Florence Hayes. Illus. by William Moyers. Houghton. \$2.50. A lively Navajo boy returns from the "white man's school" to his devoted grandparents on an Indian reservation—and to a series of interesting adventures.
- BRUCE BENSON ON TRAILS OF THUNDER.** By Frances Fullerton Neilson and Winthrop Neilson. Dutton. \$2.50. Fast-moving adventure tale in which Bruce, for the first time "on his own," learns much about people and life in the North Woods.
- BARNEY HITS THE TRAIL.** Written and illus. by Sara and Fred Machetanz. Scribners. \$2.00. A winter in Alaska and many adventures make a real sourdough of a small boy. Superb illustrations convey the feeling of the North.
- THE STORKS OF LILLEGAARD.** By Wilhelmine Frisch. Bobbs-Merrill. \$2.50. Woven into a Danish family background, this story of an unusual pet makes fascinating reading.
- LARS AND THE LUCKSTONE.** By Faith Yingling Knoop. Illus. by John Moment. Harcourt. \$2.50. A young Laplander's pursuit of a lost herd of reindeer highlights an exciting story of this Arctic people.
- SAGEBRUSH FILLY.** By Eugenia Stone. Illus. by Earl Mayan. Knopf. \$2.50. The love of two orphan children for a motherless filly on a Nevada ranch makes an exciting story.
- BORN TO TROT.** By Marguerite Henry. Illus. by Wesley Dennis. Rand. \$2.75. The breathless
- adventure of harness racing, skillfully interwoven with a true story of the courage and devotion of a father and son.
- THE DOG NEXT DOOR.** By Keith Robertson. Illus. by Morgan Dennis. Viking. \$2.50. A gift of a pedigreed boxer to a non-dog-loving family causes amusing complications.
- SQUEEZE PLAY.** By Colin Lochlons. Crowell. \$2.25. A lively junior-high baseball story, with colorful characters and exciting play-by-play descriptions, to appeal to a wide range of fans.
- YOUNG READERS SPORTS STORIES.** Edited by David Thomas. Illus. by Richard Osborne. Lantern. \$2.50. Ten stimulating sports stories with a basic theme of fair play. Exciting and not preachy.
- SPARROW HAWK.** By Meridel Le Sueur. Illus. by William Moyers. Knopf. \$2.50. Sensitive and understanding story of the Sauk Indians of the Northwest in their struggle to preserve their tribe and land against the encroaching whites.
- THE VOYAGES OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.** Written and illus. by Armstrong Sperry.
- THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS.** Written and illus. by James Daugherty.
- PAUL REVERE AND THE MINUTE MEN.** By Dorothy Canfield Fisher. Illus. by Norman Price.
- OUR INDEPENDENCE AND THE CONSTITUTION.** By Dorothy Canfield Fisher. Illus. by Robert Doremus.
- LEE AND GRANT AT APPOMATTOX.** By MacKinlay Kantor. Illus. by Donald McKay. Random. \$1.50 each. Five titles from a distinguished and important new series of "Landmark Books" which bring vividly to life the epochal events in the evolution of this nation and its democratic ideals. Various writers and artists make superb contributions.

Selected Books for Younger Children— PUBLISHED THIS FALL BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY



BLAZE FINDS THE TRAIL

By C. W. Anderson. About a young rider who loses his way in the woods and how his pony brings him home. Another title in the beloved *BILLY AND BLAZE* series. Black & White drawings by the author. Ages 6-8



FIRST ADVENTURE

By Elizabeth Coatsworth. Johnny Billington and his runaway escapade brought serious worry but final good fortune to the early colonists. A "Once Upon a Time in America" book. 10 full pages and 30 small drawings in two colors by Ralph Ray. Ages 6-8 \$1.50

THE CIRCUS BABY

By Maud and Miska Petersham. About a baby elephant whose mother tried to teach him to eat at a table like a baby clown, without success, but with funny consequences. 32 pages of pictures in four colors. Ages 3-5

\$1.50

SQUIRRELY

By Berta and Elmer Hader. The true story of a tiny squirrel the Haders rescued and made their house guest all one winter. 15 pictures in four colors, 20 in black and white. Ages 6-10.

\$2.00

HOMINY

By Miriam E. Mason. About a little Indian boy whose skill with a bow and arrow won him a real reputation with his tribe. A first reader. Illustrations by Doris and George Hauman. Ages 6-8

\$1.75

- JOHNNY TEXAS.** By Carol Hoff. Illus. by Bob Myers. Wilcox & Follett. \$2.75. A German family's settlement in Texas in 1833 makes a colorful, absorbing story with a vivid picture of pioneer America.
- RESTLESS JOHNNY:** The Story of Johnny Appleseed. By Ruth Langland Holberg. Illus. by Lloyd Coe. Crowell. \$2.50. The moving story of Jonathan Chapman who was inspired to plant apple orchards near pioneer cabins. Handsomely illustrated.
- Twelve and over**
- GANDHI:** Fighter Without a Sword. By Jeanette Eaton. Illus. by Ralph Ray. Morrow. \$3.00.
- MAHATMA GANDHI.** By Catherine Owens Peare. Holt. \$2.75. Two biographies of the great Indian leader — strong, moving, and inspiring. The first, though factual, reads like fiction; the second, like exciting fact.
- NEXT YEAR IN JERUSALEM:** The Story of Theodor Herzl. By Nina Brown Baker. Harcourt. \$2.50. Inspiring story of the founder of modern Zionism, and of his unswerving devotion and unceasing efforts in the attainment of his goal.
- CHAIM WEIZMANN:** Builder of a Nation. By Rachel Baker. Messner. \$2.75. The story of this important figure, center of a controversial and thrilling epoch, impressively presented.
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Parents' questions

Continued from page 22

all unusual, and it's quite natural for her to want to follow grown-up patterns of behavior. She may be much better able than you think to manage her relationships with boys for herself. She is probably still young enough, though, to need some understanding help from you in regard to them. She may even, at times, secretly welcome a restraining "no," even though she protests. But you will have to use such negations sparingly, and only with good reason.

Just going to a movie at night with a boy doesn't need to be an issue. The important thing is to be sure the young people know that you expect them to have good judgment and good sense. You will want to meet the boys your daughter chooses as her friends, not to look them over critically but rather so they'll know you and feel your friendliness. If they seem to be dependable and responsible youngsters, then an evening date for the movies on non-school evenings with a reasonable coming-home time agreed upon beforehand seems fair enough.

Encourage your daughter to invite her friends—girls and boys together—for informal get-togethers. Make it as attractive as possible for her to bring her friends home. Let them know that you are around even though you are not in the living room with them.

But girls and boys will want to have solo dates, too. They're feeling their way toward adult behavior. They need to know that they can count on their parents to help them strike a safe balance between their growing emotional needs and their lack of social experience.

Children who are different

How you can help children
to live comfortably with
themselves and others

You will not want to miss the discussion of this important subject in the Spring issue of CHILD STUDY

Parents and teen-agers

Continued from page 17

conducted where possible or with professional help, is a learning process or perhaps in some instances a re-learning or re-educative process. To be successful, it can be accomplished only in a setting of security and freedom from anxiety.

Acceleration in development

Another major though somewhat different problem in adolescent development which arouses anxieties and insecurity feelings in both the child and his parents is the adolescent's rapid development in a social, educational, vocational, and psychosexual sense. Parents find such acceleration undesirable. In this situation, as contrasted to the developmental blocks commented on above, the child attempts to assume adult modes of living long before he might reasonably be expected to do so. He seems to be trying to take two or three steps in development when one step would be enough. Such a child strives for—and strenuously indicates his intention to gain—*independence* in actions, in ideas and in ideals that have little or no reference to those considered desirable by the parents or indeed to those previously adhered to by the child himself. He is, in short, rebelling against the idea that he is to continue to be dependent upon the support or even the love of his parents. His internal impulses, together with the accepted and expressed standards of his young friends, push him toward giving up this dependency. Feelings of security with other young people are now more important to him than the approval of adults.

Such acceleration in development is accompanied by continual misgivings—often by intense anxiety. Detailed analyses by psychiatrists have revealed these underlying fears and worries. The child, in short, is in conflict. On the one hand, he wishes to attain an adult position, but on the other he is afraid of it because he fears his own ability to deal both with his internal drives and with the external reality of the adult world. His need for the security of parents and parental love—in short, his need to be dependent—is still operative and repeatedly asserts itself.

When faced with such attempts at rapid growth, the parents too are beset by the anxieties aroused by two conflicting drives. There are, first of all, the anxiety and insecurity that may arise out of the feeling that they are no longer loved or needed by the child; they may feel that *they, the parents*, are now to be abandoned or deserted. In addition, however, there is the natural wish and desire that their child, like all other children, grow up and act like an adult. It is essential that he do so if they are to consider themselves competent parents who have successfully fulfilled their duties. Needless to say, such conflicts and threats with regard to their opinions of themselves as parents can be very acute, and they call for considerable, objective self-appraisal.

One aspect of acceleration in development—and, in fact, an aspect of even orderly, gradual adolescent growth—is particularly difficult for parents to accept: the bludgeonings of devaluation which are inflicted upon parents by adolescents during this stage of growth. It seems to be necessary for children to take their first steps away from dependence by means of a wholesale denial of any worth in the parents themselves or of any value in the ideas, plans, and hopes that the parents may voice. In *Psychology of Women*, Helene Deutsch stresses this expected, and in fact necessary, stage in development by stating that the means of liber-

ation from an emotional tie to, and identification with parents "is sought in devaluation of previous objects, regardless of earlier relations. . . . An increasingly critical attitude and a greater adaptation to reality gradually bring about abandonment of the infantile overestimation of the parents and the pendulum begins to swing in the opposite direction: the parents are now underestimated. . . ." But Dr. Deutsch does offer hope and solace by pointing out that, once safely past the dangers of puberty, young people often resume loving their parents and may be proud of their resemblance to them.

To sum up

I have selected two responses of adolescent boys and girls which may be cited as blocks or as faults to that orderly step-by-step maturity in early adolescence which parents hope will lead to the child's identification with his future independent role as an adult. These steps in development are models of the learning process in general; as in all learning, they can be taken only when the child feels secure in his relationships—particularly in his relationships with his parents. The blocks and faults are then seen to be deviations caused by insecurity and anxiety. Parents themselves grow. They too can do so only if they are secure and anxiety-free in the presence of demonstrated maturation in their adolescent child.

Annual Conference of the Child Study Association

Changing ways with children: what real gains have we made?

The Annual Conference of the Child Study Association will be devoted to a discussion of this topic on Monday, February 19, 1951, at the Hotel Statler in New York City.

There will be three sessions: 9:30 A.M., luncheon at 12:30 P.M., and 3:30 P.M. Among the guest speakers will be Robert Knight, M.D., medical director of the Austen Riggs Foundation of Stockbridge, Mass.; Mary Fisher Langmuir, president of the Child Study Association; René A. Spitz, M.D., member of the faculty of the New York Psychoanalytic Institute; Adelaide Johnson, M.D., of the Mayo

Clinic, Rochester, Minn.; Barbara Biber, research psychologist of the Bank Street Schools in New York City; Lawrence K. Frank, leader of the New York Ethical Society and formerly director of the Caroline Zachry Institute; Ethel J. Alpenfels, associate professor of education at New York University, author, and anthropologist; and other leading authorities in the field of child development.

Advance reservations must be made for all sessions. Please write to the Child Study Association for complete program for all sessions and registration blank.

Suggestions for study groups



A guide to readers who
wish to base group study and discussion
on this issue of Child Study

Parents, teachers, and all others who work with children and families are eager to find abiding principles of guidance and growth in understanding human needs. This issue of CHILD STUDY looks at growing maturity in "the whole child," and offers thought-provoking concepts of maturity at different age levels.

Dr. Spitz speaks of criteria for "age-adequate" maturity in the first two years. He stresses the importance not only of mother-child closeness and warmth, but also of the mother's ability to impose necessary frustrations as a stimulus to growth in the child.

Dr. Macnaughton shows the beginning shift from baby dependency on Mother, to growing independence. The small child's new interests in his own body, curiosities about sex differences, awareness of possessive feelings about a parent all make this a time of conflict as well as of new satisfactions.

In the years from six to puberty, Dr. Abbate tells us, the maturing youngster is somewhat freer from turmoil about himself and his parents. He turns to the group for experiences which widen his horizons, deepen his knowledge, and help him in integrating his ever-growing conscience.

Dr. Ginsburg and Dr. Gardner take up the theme of maturity in adolescence, and point out the tremendous job that confronts the adolescent—that of finding his place as a sexually and socially mature person in a complicated and high-pressure world. Parents are asked to examine honestly their own hostilities and fears in the face of adolescent difficulties and defiance, to understand *why* teen-agers behave as they do, and to recognize their own part in such behavior.

A responsible, well-adjusted personality is our eventual goal for all children, but it is wise to remember that each child will progress toward that goal at his own pace. Our job is not to hurry or hinder that pace because of our own needs or am-

bitions, but to provide the loving acceptance of each child which frees him to be his best possible self.

For discussion

In recent years, many parents and educators have feared that frustrations might cause conflict for the child. What does your group think of Dr. Spitz's definition of frustration as a growth experience? Can the ability to deal with frustration strengthen a child? How? Can the group think of some possible misuses of this idea?

How would you handle a temper tantrum in a four-year-old who wants Mother to stay home with him instead of going to the movies with Daddy?

Dr. Abbate describes the child's need to belong to the group as characteristic of the maturing process in the school years. Suppose a child cannot play well in a group. Suppose he avoids clubs, teams, and other group activities. What might be done to help such a youngster?

Fifteen-year-old Jill has planned a party for this Friday. Mother and Father have just learned they will have to be out of town then, and say that the party will have to be postponed. Jill insists she does not need a chaperone, and is upset about having to change the date so suddenly. Her parents feel that a responsible adult should be at home for the party. Do Jill and her friends have the maturity to handle this party alone? Might it be a step forward in maturity if Jill can accept the need for the presence of responsible adults?

How would your definition of adult maturity differ from a definition of maturity levels for growing children? Do adults continue to grow in maturity, or is maturity attained at a certain age? How might a lack of maturity in parents be reflected in their children?

Turning to the case histories "From a Counselor's Notebook," would a knowledge of two-year-old abilities and maturity levels have helped

Timmy's mother avoid her concern over his dependency on her? Discuss the ways in which a knowledge of child development can help parents evaluate their children's behavior. Might an understanding of individual variations in maturity help them not to make comparisons between their children and others?

How might Carol's mother have helped Carol accept the baby brother and his needs? Was there evidence that Carol was ready to perform on a more mature level, if her parents had asked her to? What effect did their attitude of excluding the baby as much as possible have on Carol? What are some of the ways Carol's mother reached a new maturity? How did this affect Carol?

Suggested reading

- Psychosocial Development of Children.* By Irene M. Josselyn, M.D. New York: Family Service Society of America, 1948.
- The Mature Mind.* By H. A. Overstreet. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1949.
- The Parents' Manual.* By Anna W. M. Wolf. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1941.
- We, the Parents.* By Sidonie M. Gruenberg. New York: Harper and Bros., Rev. Ed., 1948.
- Pamphlets published by the Child Study Association
Aggressiveness in Children. By Edith Lesser Atkin, in conjunction with the Staff of the Child Study Association.
- Pre-Adolescents: What Makes Them Tick?* By Fritz Redl.
- When Fifteen and Fifty Disagree.* By Anna W. M. Wolf.

Adolescence is hard

Continued from page 14

he needs to maintain the esteem of his own group, which actually condemns too daring sexuality, even when seeming to approve it.

I remember a patient, a young college freshman, torn by the wish to be like the upperclassmen and "know women," but afraid to be different from his friends who did not venture anything more than the innocuous necking he himself had already experienced. He had the questionable luck to meet a girl who, though his own age, had indeed had extensive heterosexual experience. He fled in panic both from her excessive demands and easy availability and from his awareness that his closest friends resented his boasting which seemed to belittle their relatively puny successes. He found his solution in a self-righteous morality that condemned the girl's promiscuity and allowed him

safety from her sexual demands. In addition, this attitude afforded him a smug satisfaction in the moral superiority of his behavior and facilitated a quiet return to the dating routine accepted by his group.

Choosing an occupation

Adolescence is the time of another important choice—the choice of one's lifework. With few exceptions, this too is a final choice; once they have decided on a field of work, few people have the opportunity to change it. Where education and training are basically involved, few can afford the luxury of re-education and re-training. Even when expense is not a consideration, a choice commits one to a whole way of life, often to a geographic location, and it is rarely that one can undo such decisions once they have been made.

The finality of the decision, once made, is only one of the reasons why the choice of an occupation is of such great importance. In ordinary human values, the satisfactions and contentment an individual derives from his job must obviously stand very high indeed. In fact, job dissatisfaction is one of the greatest and most pressing social problems; among the causes of such discontent an unsuitable occupational choice is an important one.

Quite early in life the child may seem to be concerned with what he wants to be. Adults' questions seem to be restricted to the trilogy: "What class are you in?" "Do you like school?" "What do you want to be?" For the very young child the answer to the last question is, of course, sheer fantasy; a little boy wants to be like a grownup and hence like Pop or some current hero.

It is only as the growing youngster begins to discover his interests and to test them against his capacities and skills that the task of making an occupational choice begins to take form. As adolescence advances, an important and often decisive new element is added; the youngster is increasingly concerned with the values of contemplated jobs. "To work with people" seems an important reason for going into personnel work, for instance, or "to help people" a good one for choosing medicine as a career. The simple identification processes so clearly

present in earlier choices, are, if active at all, made to conform to the compelling factors of interests, skills, and values.

This is a process that reaches a peak during the late adolescent years. Children of the more economically secure, who will probably go on to college, face successive choices, such as the college to attend, what to major in, and whether to plan on graduate work or to terminate formal education with college. For the youngster whose education must end with high school (or before) problems of possible vocational training, civil service jobs, and other decisions require definition and decision in these years.

Aside from the immediate importance of these choices, they have corollaries of great consequence. The poorer boy who leaves high school in the second year abandons almost all ambition for further intellectual advancement or even rigorous mechanical training. Hence he is free to devote much of his time to leisure pursuits, including, of course, sexual ones. The boy who has a set of life plans that include years of study and training must forego this immediate satisfaction, postponing today's gratifications for tomorrow's good. This must reflect a whole hierarchy of values which will enable him to forego direct sexual satisfaction for the more subtle gains that contribute to the working out of a suitable occupational choice.

In general, occupational choice seems to be a much less pressing problem for girls, even for those who plan to work. This reflects the quiet certainty with which the girl recognizes marriage as her first and inevitable goal. The problem then is for her to attain that goal and reconcile within it some expression of a talent, an interest, or a skill, perhaps by way of avocational pursuits.

Religion and the adolescent

A third and compelling problem demands the concern of parents and educators: the problem of religious expression and affiliation. Understandably, at this time in history, this is a more immediate problem for certain religious groups. But it has some urgency, if a lesser one, for all adolescents. They are as a group, after all, quite disillusioned about everything, es-

pecially the things grownups do and believe, and this includes religious beliefs and practices.

It is in the field of religious activity that one often finds most clearly revealed still another adolescent characteristic. To the youngster the world is a great and wide-flung challenge, and he is about to rescue it from the evils for which those incompetents, his elders, are responsible. Nothing seems too remote or too difficult. A startling shift to orthodoxy may represent this new attitude toward religion, and here, too, one finds a trying smugness and complacency and a high degree of intolerance for the beliefs and practices of adults. The specific working out of this problem varies from family to family; it is never solved, any more than any other adolescent problem, by a show of force or authority.

To understand adolescents it is important to remember that they are bewildered, frightened, and confused. An adolescent patient of mine did a series of beautiful and expressive surrealistic paintings to express her feelings; woven in the design of one of them is the phrase, "I'm a stranger here myself." I could think of no expression truer or more revealing. The adolescent finds his newly approaching adulthood strange indeed; he finds the departure from childhood frightening, and the attitude and the demands of the adult world little short of terrifying.

To help them, adults must understand them. Young people welcome the expressed recognition by adults, especially parents, that they too once were adolescents and behaved in pretty much the same way. Although suspicious and distrustful of the grownups' motives, boys and girls will profit by good-humored explanations, especially when an adult is not aloof.

What makes the situation difficult for the parent, though, is the fact that love, generosity, kindness, permissiveness are often not enough to deal with the adolescent's problems. After all my years of experience, in fact, I know of nothing that so completely defies any generalized prescription as adolescence. I believe this is so because its conditioning begins in the cradle. I often feel that in the end the only solace for adolescent and adult alike is the recognition that this too passes.

3 first steps

Continued from page 5

This growing independence of the child in the second half of the first year imposes on the mother a change of attitude. Complete permissiveness becomes dangerous now. The first steps in imposing discipline have to be taken. The child has to learn the meaning of the word "no." From time to time he has to be frustrated.

And frustration has significance as a step toward maturity. Probably as a compensating reaction to the frustrations that parents imposed upon their children in the 1920's and early 1930's on the advice of medical, psychological, educational authorities, an attitude has developed in the recent past which amounts practically to a phobia against frustrating a child in any way or imposing discipline. It is hardly necessary to stress that some kind of discipline has to be imposed if the child is to develop into a member of human society and to acquire what might be called self-discipline—an adapted social behavior.

But quite apart from this long view, a certain amount of frustration is needed as a stimulus in normal development and maturation. It is the physiological frustration imposed by danger of suffocation at birth which forces the infant to turn from breathing via its mother and the cord to human breathing through its mouth. It is frustration of recurrent pangs of hunger and thirst which forces the infant to make the effort of nursing. The frustration of weaning must be imposed on the infant if it is to learn how to take nourishment as adults do. An observation made in the course of my experience is worth mentioning here. I have found that the developmental level of infants takes a jump forward when weaning is accomplished. In other words, a frustrating experience shows itself to be a powerful stimulus in provoking a step in maturation.

This finding highlights a fact which should have been clear long ago but which to my knowledge has never been expressed in exactly these terms in either the psychological or the educational literature: namely, that *frustrating a child can be as much of a stimulus in his maturation as can offering something pleasurable.*

Even more than this, it is evident that in the process of adjusting to the demands of human society the child's frustrations play an important, a necessary, a decisive role.

This statement should not be misinterpreted to mean that I advocate a frustrating relationship with the child. That is very far indeed from my purpose. I consider the child's need for love his primary need, and the establishment of a love relationship with the child the first essential. But achieving complete maturity involves an adaptation to reality. The reality of our Western society is a pretty grim one. The sheltered life, surrounded by love, with every need cared for, which the infant requires in the first six months, is in complete contradiction to this grim reality. A child will have to take a great many steps, each of them involving more or less frustrating experiences, until, as an adult, he has achieved the capacity to adapt to and to deal with reality.

Not all or even many of these steps involve frustration. On the contrary, many of them are based on a high level of satisfaction, like that of achievement. But even this gratification has to be paid for by sacrifice. As the ancients stated, the gods have placed sweat before success.

It seems to me that what we should strive for is to offer the child age-adequate stimuli both through gratifications and through frustrations. It is as little age-adequate to punish a one-year-old because he cannot control his bladder as it is to give him a chemistry set. As it is said in Ecclesiastes 3:1: "For everything there is a season, and a time for every purpose under heaven." In the course of the life of the infant and the growing child the time for imposing the necessary frustrations is when the child has reached the level of physical development, nervous and muscular, to carry out the demand; and when he has reached the level of psychological development which is needed to understand the demand or the prohibition, to adapt to it, to deal with it, and to turn it into an advantage in his further development. When that stage has arrived the demand should be made.

Delay offers no advantage. On the contrary, it is much easier to begin weaning, from the breast or the bottle, at six months; at this time

such a change is accepted much more readily than later. The reason for the choice of this age is that sometime between six and eight months the baby begins to acquire a lot of resources that permit him to show an independence he did not show before. I am aware that in the literature a number of contradictory attitudes are taken on this subject and that frequently an older age is given. Nevertheless, from my experience, and also from the theoretical assumptions I have had to make on the basis of my investigations, I must conclude that beginning weaning at six months is much more desirable than doing so later.

It is also easier to achieve toilet training gradually around the end of the second year than with a schoolchild left untrained. And by easier, I mean for the child as well as for the mother. In one way or another, the growing child must make an adjustment to the realities of life. If he is not helped to make the adjustments at the suitable time and in an appropriate manner, he will probably develop for himself an inappropriate, socially unacceptable form of behavior. If so, his re-education will involve greater frustration than would otherwise be the case. And if such inappropriate adjustment is carried into adulthood, frustrations and sufferings will be of no avail in overcoming it. Then psychiatric treatment, prolonged and costly, often entailing a lot of misery, may be needed.

The mother's role

Offering age-adequate stimuli and frustrations means doing the right thing at the right time. Textbooks cannot spell out this prescription in detail. All they can do is to explain in a general manner age ranges within which certain developments are usual.

The individual mother has to apply this information to the individual child. She will avoid being overambitious. She will not make up for her own shortcomings by trying to turn her offspring into a wonder-child, a dream-child—a freak. But neither will she compensate for unconscious feelings of rejection and hostility toward her child by avoiding all and any frustration. A mother who unconsciously rejects her child tries to deny even to herself the shadow of a possible hostile attitude. Complete avoid-

ance of frustrating her child under any circumstances betrays unconscious feelings of hostility.

What, then, will the "good" mother do? What will she be like? In the first place, she will use a good deal of common sense; she will not let herself be scared into one extreme or another by books, talks, or the advice of friends and relatives. She will take her cue from her child, from the way he behaves and the way he responds to what she does. She will be quick to realize when she has gone too far, and when she can go further than she has. A reasonably well-balanced personality is a great help in achieving this insight. To a reasonably well-balanced mother her child will be an object of love—not a compensation for something she lacks, not something to be afraid of, not an object of anxiety or resentment or dislike.

When love is a mother's attitude toward her child, imposing the necessary frustrations at the suitable stage of development is usually a relatively minor problem. When a child is sure of his mother's love, he has gained the confidence and security in her which enable him to accept the frustrations; he wants to please his mother and so is eager to comply with her demands. When he is compensated by the security that the mother gives, he can turn the frustration to his advantage. From it he will form techniques for dealing with social situations.

When this kind of mother-child relationship exists, the steps toward maturity blend imperceptibly into a smooth curve; separating them from each other, distinguishing them from each other becomes an artificial procedure. It is in the abnormal cases that the steps become apparent to the observer.

Of course children are constitutionally different. The points I have made here do not apply to pathological extremes. But with the security a maternal person offers, surprising results can be achieved even with these extremes.

It is in the second stage that the child acquires one of the most important psychological capacities of human life—the capacity for attaching his feelings of love to one particular person. This process, which in psychoanalysis we call the development of object relationship, is rendered possible in the course of development by a good mother-child relationship.

One feature of this process is that the child will begin to imitate his mother. As he imitates his mother, he acts as she does. Acting as she does, he performs for himself some of the services the mother rendered, thus becoming increasingly independent of her ministrations. Increasingly he imitates her not only in the superficial sense of copying her gestures but also in trying to be like her; or, as we call it, he will identify himself with her.

Third step: learning to speak

It is with the help of the mechanism of identification that, during the second year, the child achieves his third great step toward maturity. This step consists in acquiring language. How much this step is bound up with the relations between the child and the mother is witnessed in such an everyday expression as "mother tongue," a term that is identical in many languages. But it has also been confirmed by my observations: In following a group of infants reared without mothers from their birth to their fourth year in an orphanage, I found that 95 per cent of them had never learned to speak. This is in stark contrast with the average child brought up by his mother. Barring some constitutional difficulty, such a child prattles happily at eighteen months and speaks more or less fluently at two years.

This third step is the child's greatest advance toward becoming a member of human society. It is the step that will enable him to learn by word of mouth instead of by painful experience; to communicate his wishes, feelings, experiences, and responses in an intelligible way; and to learn about similar processes in his fellow beings. This inevitably leads to an ever-increasing exchange between the child and his environment, to building up the child into a member of a social group. With the acquisition of speech the child has made an indispensable move toward social maturity. Finally, the attainment of language provides the child with a set of what we call verbal symbols. Ultimately these symbols help him to perform thought processes, creative or otherwise.

This description of the progress made in achieving the verbal stage might make it appear by far the most important of the three. I would

be reluctant to call it that. It seems to me only the most spectacular and the easiest to understand from the viewpoint of our grown-up mentality, which is so different from that of the infant that we have the greatest difficulty in understanding, even to a limited extent, early thinking processes.

One might also say that the steps I have described involve different forms of learning, and that each step is achieved with the acquiring of a form of learning which is on a higher level than the previous one. The first step, the first half year, would then belong to learning through the conditioned reflex: that is, learning as animals do, by trial and error, with the help of reward or disappointment. The second step is characterized by the beginning of human learning—learning by insight, by thought processes on one hand and by the process of identification on the other. The third step marks the attainment of a developed system of abstract signs and symbols—speech—which facilitates learning with the help of insight, permits thought on the abstract level, and heralds the advent of a number of psychological mechanisms which are the special accomplishment of the human race and the requisites of social adjustment.

It cannot be stressed too forcibly that *all* these steps are achieved by virtue of the infant's relations with his mother, and depend on a continuous interchange—physical, psychological, social, and, above all, emotional—with his mother. It is the mother's ministrations that enable the infant to strive, to make the necessary advances toward physical maturity no less than toward psychological and emotional maturity. It is equally true that the mother provides the infant with his first social partner and guides his first steps toward social maturity. She does this by providing protection and permissiveness in the first six months, by providing direction and opportunities for identification in the second half of the first year, and by teaching her baby to speak and to make more complex identifications later in the second year.

Such is the stuff of which the steps toward maturity in the first two years are made. Inconspicuous though they are, they are probably the most important ones in any person's life.

The preschool child

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differences, and may even want to investigate. The child's observation that boys have penises and girls have not becomes of special significance, not only for the boy, who relates it to the possible loss of his precious organ, but for the girl, too, who envies the boy for something she doesn't have. This situation can be a difficult one for the little girl to overcome, particularly if she feels deprived in other respects. And if the anxiety behind her questions is not understood and lovingly handled, envy of the boy can become the starting point of difficulties concerning the acceptance of her femininity; it can influence her attitude toward men when she is grown-up.

The handling of the genitals, which occurred before three but which was then casual and frank, now becomes more secretive. It arouses guilty feelings because of the Oedipal wishes in the accompanying fantasies. Guilt over masturbation fantasies gives greater significance to the little boy's fear of his father, and the girl's of her mother, in the Oedipal situation. This is particularly true if actual prohibitions or threats with regard to masturbation have been made. Even if nothing is said or done, the child senses the parents' attitude, no matter how carefully it is covered up.

Play is important

The central conflict of the young child in the process of growing up is that of modifying his primitive impulses, both sexual and aggressive, in accordance with the demands of reality—first as represented by his mother's expectations, later in terms of his family group, and finally of society at large. By the time the child begins to walk and talk he is not only developing poise and bodily skills and gaining knowledge of the real world, but he is also increasing his ability to redirect his primitive impulses into more socially acceptable channels.

Play is extremely important in providing opportunities for such redirection. It has been said that play is the language of the child; this is especially true before he can speak. Play is also his work, for through it he is able to ex-

press himself and to work through to some measure of harmony the conflicting trends of his feelings and desires. In the play world of his own creation, the child can permit himself indirect and satisfying expression of both sexual and aggressive impulses; he can give external and controllable form to his fears. The little hunter armed with a stick and a fierce expression, who playfully shoots a "bear" in the person of a grownup and then requests the "bear" to shoot him, is giving expression to his deepest fears and anxieties. Actually he dreads the destruction that the fulfillment of his wishes would bring to the loved person and what might be done to him in return. Playing it out helps to allay these anxieties and to ease the inner tension rising from them. The lessening of tension through this dramatic representation eventually enables the child to control his behavior in real life and to accept the limitations of reality.

The play of a little child at any given phase of his development vividly portrays what is going on both within and without, for his actual experiences become interwoven with the underlying fantasies of his inner world. Because of his fantasies each child makes his own individual contribution in a group that is playing out together an otherwise similar reality experience.

Obviously the play of the very young child differs from that of the older one. The more complicated play of the older child is, of course, largely determined by the growth of his reasoning power, the increase of bodily skills, and the development of speech and of sense perceptions. These provide a wider field for dramatizing the fantasies connected with his inner wishes at the specific phase of his development.

It is very easy, however, to overlook the fantasies of the baby who cannot yet talk. For instance, the child of twelve to eighteen months is primarily interested in manipulative play, such as fitting things together, putting pegs into holes, filling cups with sand, making things disappear and reappear. Through such activities he may not only be learning about spaces and shapes; in symbolic fashion he is possibly dramatizing his primitive wishes and conquering his fears of being abandoned by his loved

mother. At two, his fantasies center around his desire for omnipotent power and control. How are we to know that, when he appears to be just racing around the garden, he is the powerful engine; or that when he climbs the jungle gym, he's a giant, monarch of all he surveys and bigger than the biggest grownup? By the age of three, the child gives more concrete evidence of his imagination. Both his wider choice of play materials and his sound effects and snatches of talk give clues to the meaning of the dramatization. But the borderline between fantasy and reality is still not clearly defined. In the child's play, ordinary objects, such as tables and chairs, become animals, houses, busses, and the like. Not only do animals become endowed with human qualities, but the child himself can become the animal and play the part with so much verve and intensity that he may, in his make-believe role, insist on having his plate on the floor at meal-time, or bark when talked to. This is the time, too, when imaginary companions sometimes appear. Mud, sand, and water are invested with magic properties. Around three, wishes are horses and everything is possible.

By the time the child reaches four or five, however, the character of his play changes. It becomes more like real-life situations and includes other children. Since this is the time when the child is engaged in the Oedipal struggle, little boys and girls play at being married and having babies. The make-believe parents, although they are remarkably tender to their "good" children, are often more severe than the real parents in scolding and punishing children when they are "bad." The overseverity of the make-believe parent is merely a reflection of the child's own aggressive wishes toward the parent, and an expression of his fears of retaliation.

Such free dramatization enables the child to bring to the surface other anxieties that arise from this phase of development. Witness the games built around doctors and hospitals, in which make-believe bloody operations are playfully inflicted on dolls or other children. These games are particularly revealing of how the child uses spontaneous play as a means of both diminishing the guilt over his sexual curiosities

and dealing with his anxiety about castration. The castration theme can also be traced, particularly in little boys, in their games of killing and being killed—cops and robbers, soldiers, cowboys and Indians, hunters and animals—games which are common at this period, and which often surprise us by their cruelty.

Much that is known about the inner world of childhood has come from trained psychoanalytic observation of the free dramatic play of little children. We have only gradually come to realize that play is not only the medium through which we have been able to understand the child, but also the medium through which the child discovers the world and himself. Through play the child is helped to maintain emotional equilibrium. It provides him with opportunities for redirection, enables him to express his conflicts and work with them, promotes important identifications, and furthers his turning to reality.

A child needs to play alone sometimes, but he also needs people to play with. Even from the early days of infancy, he needs the stimulation of loving hands and voices, especially his mother's, and the tender interchange of pleasure which their relationship brings. Although at two he is becoming interested in being with other children, he still needs the intimate relationship with his mother or some other grown-up. After three, however, he has a growing need for companionship with other children for at least a part of the day, and this is most easily provided for by the well-run nursery school.

What can parents do?

When we advocate that a child be given opportunity for free, unorganized, imaginative play we do not mean that he should be left free to act out in an unrestrained way all his primitive impulses. On the contrary, the child needs help in controlling them. If the parents are too permissive, the child becomes anxious. The little child gains security from the feeling that a grownup is stronger than his own impulses. He feels protected by the friendly but realistic limitations imposed by the adult. The child needs at all times to feel loved. He has greatest need of this reassurance at the time when his destructive impulses are uppermost,

for then he fears that because he has been angry or "naughty" he will lose the love of those he cherishes most.

In the category of behavior sometimes designated as "naughty," we would include the open display of sexual interests. This occurs to some degree in all children from about three onwards. Mild, reasonable handling of children's aggressive and sexual behavior which, on the one hand, prevents them from feeling outcasts and, on the other, upholds certain standards helps most of them through this sometimes difficult phase of emotional development. In addition, it is usually possible to provide opportunities for other activities.

Night terrors, fears, and phobias occur normally in this phase of the child's development. They are the result of conflict, and are connected with the child's aggressive impulses both before and at the height of the Oedipal struggle and with his sexual drives. Neither ridicule nor force will overcome his fears, nor will explaining their irrationality make them magically disappear. The fears indicate that the child has a profound need for the reassurance that he is loved. Security will come only with the parents' understanding that these fears are real and sometimes overwhelming to the child. At the same time, parents are cautioned against showing anxious concern. The child invariably senses his parents' concern. And this awareness adds further to his fear and insecurity; in the end it leads to anxious and impossible demands.

Other fleeting symptoms often appear around this time, such as nail-biting, relapses to bed-wetting, food fussiness, temper tantrums, thumb-sucking, and unexplained outbursts of tears. These, along with the fears, night ter-

rors, and phobias, are but outward manifestations of the inner conflicts that are part of this stage of development. Parents should not be unduly alarmed by them. Only if such behavior lasts too long, becomes too intense, or seriously interferes with the child's normal activities or enjoyment of life should professional help be sought.

We cannot overemphasize the value of the nursery school at this point in lessening the intensity of the child's conflict about his parents. The contradictory feelings so painfully centered on the parents and the immediate family become diluted when they are spread over the larger social group at nursery school. Here the child can safely acknowledge and learn to handle these primitive feelings in the more neutral environment. The teacher, being less emotionally involved with the child than the mother, is likely to be more objective. By the same token, the child is better able to express and tolerate both his hostility and his affection toward the teacher because his relationship with her is less highly charged.

It is impossible to give specific suggestions on how to deal with individual problems that are presented by children between three and six, although there are certain broad principles. Parents and others who work with children must often look within themselves for the solutions. A knowledge of the significance of growth, of what may be expected of a child at this particular stage of development, is of tremendous value. So is an understanding of the interplay between love and hate. Formal knowledge alone, however, is not enough. It must be combined with intuitive understanding of the child's needs, the source of which lies in the adult's genuine love for the child.

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